

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"First the Llade, then the ear.  then the full grain in the ear."

The Monitor's view

Spain's democratic milestone

Treading between rightists and leftists, King Juan Carlos of Spain is firmly and ably guiding his country toward a full-fledged Western democracy. One year after the passing of Franco and the end of his iron dictatorship, a new mood and spirit prevail in Spain. It is captured in the first article of a new reform bill calling for the first democratically elected legislature in four decades:

"Democracy in the Spanish state is based in the supremacy of the law and the sovereign will of the people."

It will take more than words, of course, to fulfill that statement. But the outlook is promising. Even the largely rightist Cortes, the Parliament bequeathed by Franco, voted itself out of existence and approved general elections for next year. Under the reform bill, which must still be approved by a popular referendum in December, the elections will bring into being a new two-chamber Parliament with powers to alter Spain's Franco-era laws.

No one underestimates the difficulties ahead, however. Although the King and the Prime Minister won over the conservative rightists, the ultra right would like to slow the pace of democratization. The danger is that it would react strongly if, for instance, the Span-

ish Communist Party were legalized.

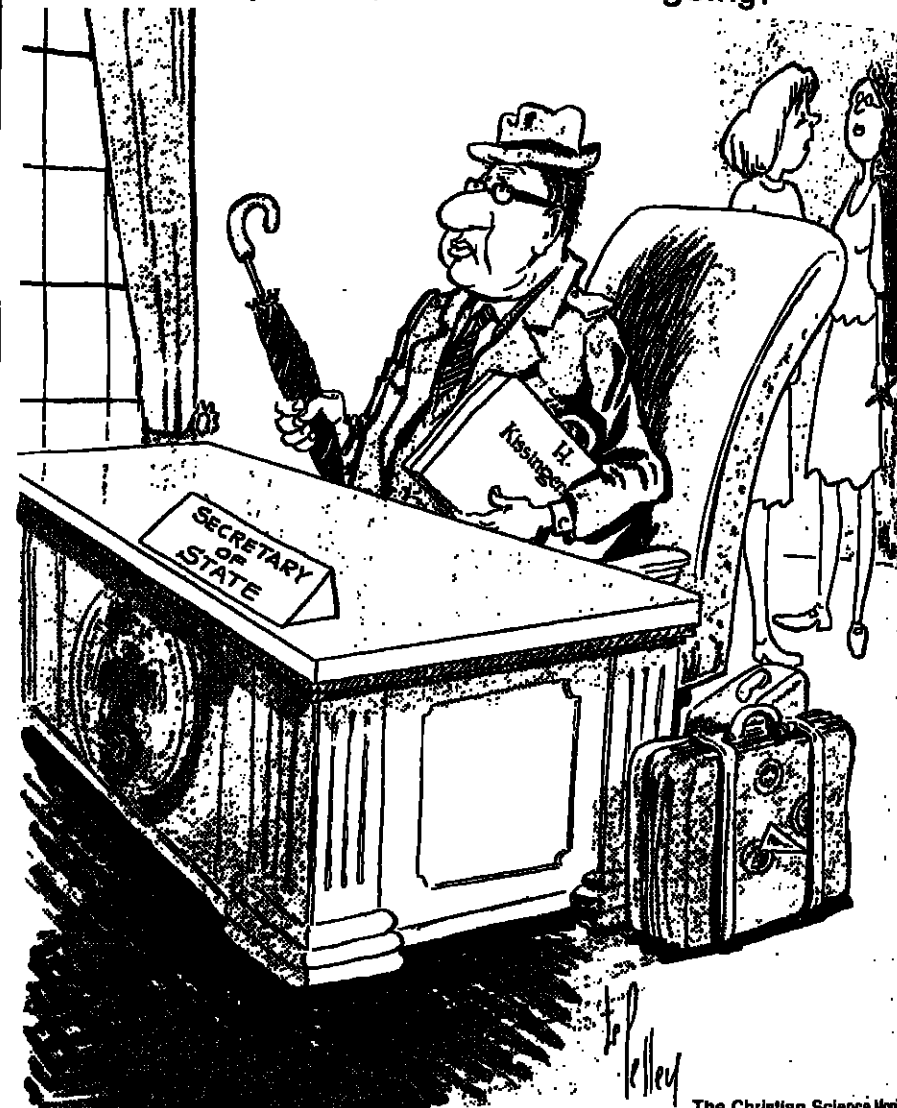
Spain's leftists, for their part, who have yet to fully recover from the repressive years under Franco, threaten to boycott the upcoming referendum if certain conditions are not met. They urge immediate legalization of labor groups as well as the Communist Party, total amnesty for convicted terrorists, and dismantling of public-order courts and anti-terrorism laws.

Compounding the uncertainties is always the threat of political violence among the Catalans or the Basques, although the danger of separatism has perhaps been exaggerated. Likewise of concern is the deterioration of the Spanish economy, beset these days by worker unrest, inflation, and declining investment.

Nonetheless, polls show that almost 70 percent of the Spanish people support the government's reforms. If Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez, who so skillfully steered the reform legislation through the Cortes, can continue to mobilize the moderate center, and if the Army and security forces can be held together, the chances appear good that Spain before too long will have a functioning democracy.

After only one year without Franco, that is something to cheer about.

'All packed, but where's he going?'



The Christian Science Monitor

Changing position on Angola

In June, the U.S. turned a solitary thumbs-down on Angola's application for United Nations membership, on grounds that it couldn't really be independent and in control of its own affairs with all those Cuban troops on the scene.

Yet this week when the Angolan bid for membership came up again, Washington's men at UN were willing to take a more tolerant view. They were ready to abstain where once they vetoed, thereby allowing Angola's entry. The fact that most of the Cuban soldiers are still there, and that civil war still rages in portions of Angola, obviously did not weigh so heavily this time.

It is not difficult to discern what caused the difference in the U.S. attitude. Since the June veto, Secretary of State Kissinger has made his diplomatic bid to bring about a racial settlement in southern Africa. At the moment, the Geneva conference on Rhodesia, which he helped arrange, is hanging in the balance. So this is no time for the U.S. to be alienating black African nations. To do so would not only undercut American standing with the third-

world states now but conceivably could handicap the incoming Carter administration in its future plans as well. Moreover, the white nations involved in a southern Africa settlement — the U.S., Britain, Rhodesia, and South Africa — could find support from the present Angolan government helpful in their negotiations.

But an American abstention on Angola does seem inconsistent with its recent veto on Vietnam UN membership. In that instance, the U.S. justified its rejection on grounds of lack of information about many misleading Americans. That in itself was a shift from an earlier stand linking South Vietnamese membership with South Korea's similar bid. Now in the case of Angola, Washington has moved a step toward the principle of universality of UN membership, but not all the way.

Indeed, as matters now stand, political considerations have taken precedence on both Angola and Vietnam, favoring the entry of one, denying it to another. There are good reasons for this pragmatic approach to membership bids, but it leaves friends and adversaries alike uncertain where the U.S. will stand next time around.

An American lift for Lisbon

Since the April, 1974, coup which turned out its right-wing government, Portugal has faced a series of political and economic crises at home, in addition to withdrawing from its big African territories of Mozambique and Angola. It therefore is welcome news for the Socialist government of Prime Minister Mario Soares that the United States is about to provide \$300 million in an emergency loan.

This American help facilitates both the serious domestic situation in Portugal and to Washington's desire to keep a strong anti-Communist such as Mr. Soares at the helm in Lisbon. And the aid will be extended, if present Ford administration plans are carried out, at a time when Portugal's financial resources have reached a low ebb, due to heavy borrowing.

Mr. Soares meanwhile has his hands full trying to keep the Communist Party under control. This is especially apparent in his effort to break the present Communist influence in the trade union movement. Politically, the Communists have suffered a number of recent setbacks, losing leverage with the military forces, the farmers, and small landowners. But, as Communist chief Alvaro Cunhal warned last week at the party congress, the working masses of Portugal still have many legitimate

weapons to use if their interests are threatened. He cited wage demands, demonstrations, and strikes as ways in which their power could be displayed. So Mr. Soares obviously will need all the outside assistance he can muster to meet such looming threats.

Fortunately for him, there are signs that long-term U.S. aid may rise as high as \$800 million. A consortium that includes West Germany, France, and perhaps others as well as the United States, is considering raising \$1.5 billion to pull Portugal through its current difficulties. Mr. Soares now faces the need to institute promised austerity measures to get Portugal on its feet, as well as to carry out much-needed political reforms in the country. These entail major risks for the Prime Minister, who has been in office only 3 months. So the road ahead will not be easy.

Yet the emergency rescue operation for Portugal is simply justified in view of the country's strategic importance to NATO, to say nothing of the grim alternatives if Soares were to fall. Then the Western powers would have to contemplate a possible resumption of chaos and the struggle for leftist domination in Portugal.

All in all, the situation is urgent enough so that it is well that Washington is giving Lisbon a lift without winking for the new administration to take office. The next few months could be crucial for embattled Portugal.

Righting a wrong at UNESCO

UNESCO has done the right thing in voting to restore Israel to full membership in the organization. The United Nations agency thereby reversed one of the controversial decisions taken at its 1974 conference — an action which sought to isolate Israel by keeping it out of UNESCO's European regional group, where most of Israel's activity normally would occur. That move sparked protests from the United States and other Western nations.

With this obstacle removed, it now should be possible for the U.S. to resume its financial support of the educational and cultural organization, which amounts to 25 percent of the total UNESCO budget. Since this funding was cut off, about \$40 million in American contributions has been withheld.

The Arab and Soviet-bloc states, however, passed a condemnation of Israel's educational and cultural policies in the Arab territories captured during the 1967 war. This was the price they exacted for agreeing to Israel's inclusion in the European group. Thus their side could point to a gain too. Other resolutions condemning Israel remain to be dealt with, so the tussle is not yet at an end.

On balance, nevertheless, the developments at this UNESCO session in Nairobi have been encouraging. A Soviet-sponsored bid to restrict freedom of the press was beaten back earlier, largely through American efforts. And the African nations, to their credit, have exerted a moderating influence this time. Egypt likewise was a factor in keeping the Arab countries from continuing to stonewall against restoring Israel's position.

Even so, warning signals still are flying for the Israelis because of the vote against them for their policy in the occupied territories. Only five countries, including Israel and the United States, opposed the censure resolution, while 28, including many West European nations, abstained.

Malraux: art and action

André Malraux proved that a man did not have to finish high school to become a cultural landmark of his century. As international tributes followed his passing this week, it remained difficult to extricate Malraux himself from the legend he helped to perpetuate. What seemed clear was a remarkable combination of art and action in a career that took him from the political left to what he called a position of both anti-fascism and anti-communism at the side of President Charles de Gaulle. A new book by Malraux is just about to be published.

According to recent findings, Malraux had not visited the revolutionary China of the '20s in time for the events he described with what has long been regarded as eyewitness vividness in perhaps his most famous novel, "Man's Fate." (Forty years before Watergate "tape gaps," it described a code contrived by imposing blurring interruptions on a seemingly innocent photograph record.)

But Malraux was in Indo-China both as archaeologist and anti-colonialist. He fought against the Franco forces in Spain; escaped from a Nazi POW camp in World War II;

joined the Resistance. Action to him was philosophy.

And Malraux remained an activist in another sense when he turned to what he came to consider his central role as historian and guardian of the arts. With books such as "The Voices of Silence" and "Museum Without Walls," he affirmed the crucial necessity of art as human expression. As France's Minister of Culture under de Gaulle, he asserted: "Like the right to schools, people have a right to theaters and museums." Before United States supporters of the arts began to campaign on how much they could give the public for the cost of "just one mile of superhighway," Malraux was telling France it could become the world's foremost cultural nation "for the price of 25 kilometers of expressway."

Malraux never got as much money as he wanted. But he did set up a number of the "maisons de culture" (regional cultural centers) that were varying successful — and that he saw as the major legacy of his ministry. Another debt art owes to Malraux's action.

WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL EDITION

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Monday, December 6, 1976

60¢ U.S.



St. Basil's in Red Square

Traditional Moscow: background to a carefully orchestrated jumble of signals

By Gordon N. Converse, chief photographer

At stake at Rhodesian conference:

What color hands on the reins?

By Geoffrey Godsell
Overseas news editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

The Geneva conference on Rhodesia has at last taken up what it was primarily convened to discuss: the makeup of the multiracial government which will preside over the transfer of political power from whites to blacks in the territory.

Mutual suspicions and wrangling over an agreed date for legal independence for Zimbabwe (as Africans call Rhodesia) under a black majority govern-

ment have delayed for five weeks the getting down to the meat of the conference. (It opened Oct. 28.) But British chairman Ivor Richard was able to convene Dec. 1 a restricted meeting of black and white Rhodesian delegations to begin discussion on how the interim government should be made up.

According to the white Rhodesians, U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger agreed with white Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith last September that: the interim prime minister should be black; his cabinet should be multiracial; and the key ministries of

defense and of law and order should be in white hands.

This last provision is unacceptable to the black Rhodesian delegations. The defense and law and order ministries are the ones which in African eyes reinforce the image of the white Rhodesian minority as "oppressors." But from the white point of view, unless these two ministries remain in white hands, discipline in the white-ruled and white-run security and police forces will collapse and near-anarchy will result during the transition period.

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No midnight knock on the door for Hossein and Agee

By Francis Reamy
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

There's more than a touch of naivete — some of it false, but some disturbingly genuine — in the reactions to the proposed deportation of two American journalists from Britain. Home Secretary Merlyn Rees told the House of Commons the two men — Philip Agee and Mark Rosenblatt — had been engaged in activities harmful to the security of the United Kingdom and the safety of its servants. Agee had "maintained regular contacts with foreign intelligence officers," while Rosenblatt had obtained for publication damaging information.

Both Americans seem to be connected with a Washington radical magazine called Counter-Spy, which is dedicated to the belief that the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) is absolutely evil and must be exposed. In Mr. Agee's published words: "The most ef-

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Southern Lebanon: suspicions and answers

By Geoffrey Godsell
Overseas news editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

What is really happening in southern Lebanon?

Are the reports (from Beirut and elsewhere) correct that the U.S., as middleman, is working out some compromise agreement between Syria and Israel for the policing of the area immediately north of the Israeli border into which no Syrian peace-keeping forces have yet moved?

Or is the report from Israel correct that no agreement has been worked out with Syria for policing southern Lebanon?

The answers are: "The U.S. is interested in the kind of compromise it considers feasible and simultaneously safe for Israel; this interest has so far expressed itself in ensuring that the parties involved are analyzing the situation accurately and are aware of what is (and what is not) feasible; the Israeli Government will be probably acquiescent in a compromise; in the end, but the Israelis remain much more suspicious than is the U.S. of the long-term intentions of Syrian President Assad."

(These Israeli suspicions have not been allayed by Mr. Assad's quiet acceptance of renewal of the mandate of the United Nations peace-keeping force along the Israeli-Syrian line on the Golan Heights.)

Israel's concern about what the Syrians intend in the long run in Lebanon — and not only there — is genuine. But there are added reasons for Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin to be seen to be reluctant to compromise on any Syrian presence in southern Lebanon.

The first of these reasons is that the Israeli Government has hitherto taken a firm line that it would be unacceptable for Syrian troops to move from Sidon southward across a so-called red line (believed to be the Litani River) toward the Israeli border. To be seen to be yielding too readily to any compromise on this stand might call into question Mr. Rabin's credibility.

The other reason for Mr. Rabin's wanting to be seen as a tough bargainer is the challenge to his leadership, both from within his own Labor Party (notably from Defense Minister Shimon Peres) and from without it (notably from a hard-line military hero, Gen. Ariel Sharon). And quite apart from these, personal challenges, Mr. Rabin's Labor Party faces a general election before the end of 1977.

The interest of the U.S. in an acceptable compromise for southern Lebanon was again suggested by the meeting the American chargé d'affaires in Beirut, George Lane, had with Lebanese President Sarkis Nov. 28. It was his second meeting with Mr. Sarkis in four days. These consultations also bespeak the U.S. interest in reinforcing Mr. Sarkis as the constitutionally elected head of state and supreme authority in a united Lebanon — but a Lebanon in which the wounds of the civil war still need to be healed.

The Beirut newspaper Al-Nahar suggests that one possible solution for southern Lebanon would be to have no Syrian but Sudanese and United Arab Emirates contingents of the Arab League peace-keeping force in Lebanon move into the sensitive area beyond the Litani River. But this suggestion immediately raises the question of whether any non-Syrian units in the peace-keeping force would be as willing or able as the Syrians to deal sternly with those Palestinians eager to wreck a settlement by resuming guerrilla raids into Israel from southern Lebanon.

As for eventual Israeli acceptance of Al-Nahar's or any other compromise proposal for

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Brezhnev looks East and West to root olive branch

By Joseph C. Harsch

Leonid Brezhnev of the Soviet Union is trying extra hard these days to persuade the new top man in China and the soon-to-be new top man in the United States that he wants to do useful and peaceful business with them.

He has sent his top China expert from the Soviet Foreign Office, Leonid Ilyichev, back to Peking to resume talks over Sino-Soviet border disputes. (Mr. Ilyichev arrived on Nov. 27.) And he issued a public appeal on Nov. 30 to U.S. President-Elect Jimmy Carter "to put an end to the freeze imposed on this question [SALT 2 arms-control talks] by Washington almost a year ago."

This stretching out of Brezhnev olive branches in both directions from Moscow to the prospective leaders of the two other most-important countries in the world certainly proves that Mr. Brezhnev wants both Chairman Hua Kuo-feng in Peking and President-Elect Carter in Plains, Georgia, to think of himself back in Moscow as a friendly and peacefully inclined person.

But both Mr. Hua and Mr. Carter have reasons to be a little skeptical about those protestations of genial goodwill from the Kremlin. There is still a massive Soviet military force deployed along the Chinese frontier in the heart of Asia, some of it within 400 miles of Peking — which is easy short-range missile distance. And there is another and larger Soviet military force deployed in Poland, East Germany, and Czechoslovakia and aimed at Western Europe. It contains the enormous number of 19,000 battle tanks.

Mr. Brezhnev's olive branches can never be wholly convincing either to Mr. Hua or to Mr. Carter so long as he maintains these massive military deployments which, in both cases, outweigh and outnumber the forces deployed against them. In both cases the Soviet forces are capable of taking the offensive.

Why then the buildup, and why does Mr. Brezhnev keep these huge and offensive forces on station and in take-off positions if Moscow's intentions are as peaceable as Mr. Brezhnev's words would have the outside world believe?

Part of the answer certainly, and perhaps even the whole of the answer, lies in the following: True, Mr. Brezhnev has a powerful military position in Central Asia because his weapons are better than the Chinese weapons and thus compensate to some degree for the enormous Chinese advantage in manpower. And true also, Mr. Brezhnev has more tanks which he can deploy against the forces of the NATO alliance and thus compensate to some degree for NATO advantages in other respects — such as technology and economic resources. But Mr. Brezhnev also has a host of problems weighing on him. He may be in serious need for relief from some quarter.

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Highlights



MANCHESTER. A Monitor essayist discusses L.S. Lowry, the painter who proved that the streets and people of Britain's industrial north are beautiful. Page 32

SOUTH AFRICA. A teen-ago black girl speaks up, telling a judge, "We cannot accept, as our father did, the whole system of apartheid." Page 10

UNESCO. A Monitor correspondent sums up the proceedings of the Nairobi conference. Page 11

THEATER. Britain gets a new theater, Paris a renovated one. A Monitor writer visits both. Page 29

U.S. VIEW OF BRITAIN. An editorial discusses an American TV program that showed the effect of too much welfare on Britain. It warned Americans that they are headed in the same direction. Page 36

FOCUS

Don't drink the water — it's dear

By Gerald Priestland

London There's a popular theory that crisis brings out the best in the English. I'm afraid quite the opposite is true: it encourages the worst.

What roused this somewhat ill-tempered thought was a small item in the press revealing that the school authorities at Oldham, in Greater Manchester (or Lancashire, to unreformed Englishers like me), are thinking of not putting out glasses of water on the tables during school lunch. They reckon this will save £32,000 in the cost of labor for putting the glasses out and washing them up afterward. Not to mention, I assume, the 17 or 18 pence a day for the actual water.

Now I'm sure Oldham isn't going to make it an offense for the children to drink water at all. I dare say the children will be able to line up at a drinking fountain for a quick gulp from a paper cup. They will also discover that the sort of really cheap paper cups that will probably be provided for them can be folded into attractive water-bombs for pitching at the blackboard.

Further economies can then be achieved by abolishing the cups and making the children slurp the water out of the palms of

their hands like Hindus. The kind of fountain that squirts a little jet of water into the air is something Oldham should be warned against. English water-pressure is usually so low that it takes two or three minutes to swallow a reasonable amount, and the queues will be long and unruly.

I suspect we don't drink enough water, anyway. Can this be a part of a conspiracy I've always suspected, to drive the English into consuming various other beverages? Anyway, compared with America — where the first thing you get on sitting down in any eating-place is a glass of iced water — getting water to drink in England has always been a major effort. Waitresses sigh and glower, and what you do get in the end is often warm and full of little white specks. I wouldn't go as far as the French who will only drink water if it comes out of bottles with labels and lots of writing on them; but I don't think the English respect water as they should. We do, in fact, have some of the best drinking water in the world.

But the schoolchildren of Oldham are to be discouraged from learning this for themselves. True, they won't be able to knock the glasses over any more, or drop pieces of cabbage into them, drip fountain pen ink

into them, or empty tadpoles into them. Stamping out fun is another function of officialdom.

But some other go-ahead authority could easily steal the headlines from Oldham with even more daring cuts. It must cost a great deal washing up the knives and spoons and forks the children use. Why not abolish cutlery and make the kids eat with their fingers? Washing up could be ended altogether by requiring each child to bring a small enameled bowl, which it would take home every evening to be washed.

Then there's all that paper they waste. Pottering about in a builder's yard the other day, I came across something called "slate." If you scratch on it with another piece of slate, it leaves a mark. The children could write sums and simple sentences on it, and then wipe it clean with a damp rag, thus saving thousands of pounds a year.

And why should they all have books? It's only necessary for the teacher to have a single copy, write out the important bits on the blackboard, and the class could memorize them. Then we could have everyone chanting in unison instead of silently brooding over books, making up their own wicked ideas. That's the way to get the national unity we need so badly in Britain today. Mark my words, doing away with the water at lunch-time could be the first step towards cutting out a lot of unnecessary frills in our educational system.

White farmers: Rhodesia is their home

By June Goodwin
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Centenary, Rhodesia The telephone was hung on a tree when Tish and Philip de la Fargue arrived here 14 years ago to carve out a farm where there had been only wild grass and mesquite trees.

Today the telephone can be moved from outlet to outlet in each of the round thatched-roof huts that make up the house.

But one still must crank it, to contact the exchange, and eight houses are on the party line. For the de la Fargues live in the Rhodesian bush, along with about 80 other white families

VIEW FROM RHODESIA

and thousands of African workers and their families. The town, itself, two hours driving time north of Salisbury, did not exist until 1963. It was named on the 100th birthday of Cecil Rhodes, British pioneer in southern Africa and founder of Rhodesia.

This is good farmland, but the Africans choose to live down the escarpment in Mbarabara Valley, the southern tip of the Great Rift Valley that splits eastern Africa along a line stretching south from Ethiopia.

With watering, "All we have to do is plant the seeds and jump aside," says Mrs. de la Fargue. She is a white woman, one of the 80 white farmers in Centenary whose future is in the balance with black rule on the way. All the farmers here are wondering if conditions will be different in Zimbabwe, as blacks call their country. They wonder whether white farmers will be able to stay.

If the de la Fargues are forced to go, what will happen to the 300 Africans, mostly from Malawi and Mozambique, who work on their farm?

Admittedly the conditions in which the Africans live are poor, but this here is a step up from what they had back home.

Mrs. de la Fargue's cook — who earns \$28 a month, plus free housing, schooling for her seven children, and medical care — is building a new house.

The No. 1 foreman, whom Mr. de la Fargue trained over his 15-year period, has an eighth-grade education and earns \$60 per month, plus 1 percent of the crop profits.

The foreman could run the farm except for

the ordering side of the business, according to Mr. de la Fargue. But the foreman would not have the capital to buy the land and probably would not be allowed to because he is a Malawian. The de la Fargues have invested \$80,000 in their 2,000 acres.

Like their neighbors, they don't want to leave Rhodesia, but Mr. de la Fargue says he will go if labor conditions become too difficult or if the family is endangered. (Three teen-ago children attend boarding schools.)

Many outsiders would consider the family already endangered. For four years farmers have lived on the alert here, taking their guns with them wherever they go. But Mrs. de la Fargue says they take the alerts in stride because they are so used to them.

Centenary was the area of Rhodesia where guerrilla attacks began, on Dec. 21, 1971. Because of the guerrillas, called terrorists by almost all whites, the road from Salisbury was macadamized, a radio system between farms installed, and a civil defense force set up.

Peter Douglas, head of civil defense in Centenary, has recently given lectures in other areas on how to mobilize the populace to cope with attacks. "Any thinking person knew long ago it [black rule] was coming," said Mr. Douglas.

But the whites stayed off for as long as they could. Now the farmers do not want to go, do not know where to go if they have to; but in their apprehension, they are thinking about Alec Paine's experience. Mr. Paine is a farmer who moved to Centenary from Zambia when black rule came there. He left after he took one of his laborers to the Zambian police for discipline and the police kicked and killed the man in front of him.

Centenary is on edge. A number of the de la Fargues' neighbors have been killed. John Elliot, who manages a farm on the escarpment, has himself killed innocent Africans, thinking they were guerrillas. "I couldn't sleep for nights after that," he said.

There are plenty of hardworking whites in Centenary. The de la Fargues lived with oil lamps for seven years, built their round, thatched houses for only \$300, using bricks they made out of antihill clay. They are more informed than many other farmers. They read the London Sunday Telegraph, the London Weekly, the Economist, and The Christian Science Monitor and listen to the BBC.

There is also plenty of racism in Centenary. "Colored [mixed race] children are tragic," said one white.

Yet there is a groping toward trying to understand. "I know these are the peasants," Mrs. de la Fargue said of her farm workers. "I



Tish de la Fargue on the family farm

know there are intellectuals [among Africans]."

The question in Rhodesia is how to cure racism, in both its mild and virulent forms, without extracting all the whites. Farmers here insist they do not care what color the government is so long as it is responsible. But the definition of responsible may be the problem.

"I would like to cover my head for six years and then come out and see what has happened," Mrs. de la Fargue said. "I don't think we will be here."

Meanwhile, she is acting as if she will stay. As the secretary of the local garden club (there are few social activities in Centenary), Mrs. de la Fargue delivered a sharp lecture to members in her last letter. She suggested the women should continue to plant their nut trees as if they will live in Centenary for a good long time.

Otherwise, she implied, one ceases to live fully and with courage.

Soviets scheme to keep Spain out of NATO

By David K. Willis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow Now thrust onto the agenda of NATO and other Western planners is a new Communist initiative that would, if adopted, block the addition of Spain to the North Atlantic alliance.

The proposal would have both NATO and the Warsaw Pact agree to limit themselves to current members. Western analysts here say it is far more significant than the pact's other offer of a treaty that would bind all 35 signers of the Helsinki declaration not to be the first to use nuclear weapons against any other signers (which include the Soviet Union and the United States).

The concept of a no-first-use-of-nuclear-weapons treaty has received worldwide publicity since advanced at the close of the Warsaw Pact's top-level political consultative committee meeting in Bucharest, Romania, Nov. 28.

But in the view of informed Western diplomats here, the treaty seems designed more for global diplomatic effect than to elicit serious response.

The long-standing NATO position is that conventional forces of the Warsaw Pact in Central Europe so heavily outweigh NATO forces that NATO cannot tamper with its doctrine of flexible response.

That doctrine says that NATO would respond to a conventional attack with a graduated response, ranging from conventional weapons to nuclear weapons only as a last resort. It is considered highly unlikely here that NATO would agree publicly to give up the nuclear option — unless the Warsaw Pact reduced its conventional forces significantly.

Yet the Vienna talks aimed at mutual reduc-



NATO officers' cops

Proposals from Warsaw Pact conference will be on NATO's December agenda

tions of conventional (and eventually nuclear) forces in Central Europe have been stalled for more than two years.

Other Western diplomats here argue that the new Warsaw Pact idea falls into the same category as a number of other Soviet disarmament initiatives. Most of these, the diplomats say, are covered in the United Nations Charter and existing agreements, which should not be weakened in any way.

It is also noted here that Peking has been trying to get Moscow to agree to a no-first-use pledge on nuclear arms for years but that Moscow has never agreed.

So diplomatic analysts here see more substance in the proposal to restrict NATO and Warsaw Pact memberships. The proposal will be discussed at the NATO foreign ministers' meeting next month.

With Spain about to hold its first free elections for 40 years, and with King Juan Carlos apparently winning support for liberal ideas over the supporters of the late Francisco Franco, the Soviets are thought to be worried about a general re-integration of Spain into Western Europe.

It has long been assumed that Spain would offer airspace and other facilities to NATO if a shooting war should ever break out. The U.S. has military bases in Spain. But Moscow is said to be eager to avoid the propaganda impact of formal Spanish membership.

It is against this background that diplomats here read the new Communist proposal. They consider that, for bargaining purposes, the Soviet position could be, in effect: You [NATO] agree not to include Spain, and we will agree

not to include Mongolia or Cuba in the Warsaw Pact.

Otherwise, the Warsaw Pact summit yielded few surprises. Analysts here had expected more emphasis on the Vienna talks in the final communiqué, but references were routine.

The decision to set up a permanent foreign ministers' committee had been forecast. It could serve two purposes: to allow Moscow to keep even closer watch over the pact's foreign policies, and to show that NATO is not the only grouping able to have such a body at its head.

More surprising was the decision to set up a Warsaw Pact secretariat. Preliminary speculation is that Deputy Soviet Foreign Minister Nikolai Fyrybin might be chosen to head it. Although the secretariat's duties are still unclear, a Soviet in command could further strengthen Soviet leadership of the pact.

Portugal's anniversary: celebration with no hurrahs

By Helen Gibson
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Lisbon Portugal has celebrated the first anniversary of the defeat of a Communist attempt to take over the country with great military ceremony — but with little real gaiety.

For the Portuguese are sadly contemplating a brand-new set of anxieties.

On Nov. 25 last year, Gen. (now President) Antonio Ramalho Eanes led his moderate forces to crush a leftist military revolt that in turn put "paid" to revolutionary tumult and Communist hopes for complete control of the country. But the Portuguese today, grateful as they may be for the relative political stability

brought them by Mario Soares's minority Socialist government, are increasingly disenchanted by the prospects of their economic future.

Despite the military parades, Air Force flypasts, and official speeches for the anniversary celebration, the atmosphere in Portugal was one little short of total gloom.

In every bus, cafe, or butcher's shop, the conversation nowadays runs along a few set themes — the soaring cost of living, the suddenly increased taxes, the scarcity of meats and fish, and the failure of the government to govern.

"If all this is socialism, then give me our old capitalism every day," said one disgruntled Lisbon cafe owner the other day. "All we see

our government do is to put prices up — nothing else."

But if the government does at times seem intolerably slow at getting anything done, it is also indisputable that the Socialists have inherited the account to settle for 2½ years of free-wheeling revolution. This entails a \$1.3 billion balance-of-payments deficit, a coffee empty of foreign reserves, ever-sinking production in the factory and the fields, and spiralling consumption.

The Socialist government's austerity measures to try to stem the tide of the country's plunging fortunes have not proved popular. The latest of many tax hikes on luxury imports — this time a 60 percent increase on such items as cars, electrical household goods, and the shellfish the Portuguese consider their Satur-

day evening treat — has taken most of these goods out of the reach of the ordinary consumer.

The Minister of Commerce has told the nation that bacalhao — the dried salted cod that is as essential to the Portuguese as a hamburger is to an American — is now to be considered a luxury, too. Fares on public transport have suddenly risen by 25 to 30 percent.

And the Socialists' efforts at restoring order on the farm sector and on the labor front are also provoking increasing opposition. Last month the Socialists ordered 100-odd illegally occupied farms in the southern Alentejo to be handed back to the rightful owners. There was little opposition at the time by the Communist agricultural unions that originally instigated the occupations. But this week squads of National Republican Guards had to be sent to several farms to act as bodyguards for the returning owners.

On the labor front, the Communists are protesting the new government measures with some success. Their cries of "anti-worker policies" to the Socialist attempts to curb the enormous wave of sick leaves and the new proposed law to allow the firing of workers for "just causes" has gained the Communists increased strength in the labor unions.

When President Eanes gave his nationally televised speech to celebrate the defeat of the Nov. 25 leftist coup last week, he showed himself well aware of the country's mood. Essentially he asked the Portuguese to have patience.

"All of us, men and institutions, are going through the learning process of living democratically together. For this reason we cannot lose hope because the new organs [of government] take time to function in harmony," General Eanes said.

Whether the Portuguese have patience enough with their newly elected Socialist government will soon be seen. The coming nationwide local elections could prove a crucial test. If the Socialists lose too many seats to other parties they may well have to rethink their adamant effort at governing alone as a minority party.

NATO — as disorganized as Tower of Babel?

By Jim Browning
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Paris Gen. Alexander Haig, formerly chief of President Nixon's White House staff and now NATO's Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, says he is hoping to keep his job under a Carter administration.

General Haig, widely viewed in Europe as a young and still-ambitious man, was speaking to the Anglo-American Press Association in Paris.

He again refused to discuss publicly his role in the last days of the Nixon administration. But he pointedly noted that he has never quarreled with President Ford's congressional testimony denying any advance discussion of the pardon with General Haig.

He also said he has no current plans to write a book of his own about the Nixon administration.

Instead he devoted his remarks to the danger of an uncertain Western response to what he described as a building Soviet military capability.

General Haig said he rejects claims that the West is vulnerable to a surprise attack "which would find Warsaw Pact armies on the Rhine in 48 hours."

But he added, "We are in a period of declining warning time."

Although he said that NATO's nuclear and conventional weapons are a "healthy, and viable" deterrent to attack, he is "not satisfied with our capability in the conventional defense area. That has been and continues to be the primary focus of all projects launched in my two-year term [this far] at NATO."

A report, published recently by the Atlantic Institute for International Affairs in Paris, charged that NATO is as disorganized as the Tower of Babel.

Prepared by Gardiner Tucker, a former assistant secretary-general of NATO, the report charged that there was glaringly poor coordination within the alliance. The question of coordination has been one of General Haig's major concerns since he arrived here in 1974.

Ammunition, "is not interchangeable, airplanes cannot refuel easily in allied countries, and communications systems require special

links for two allied armies to talk to each other in the field.

Eastern armies, the report said, are more closely centered on interchangeable Soviet equipment.

"The capabilities that the Soviets have developed and continue to develop at a relentless pace," General Haig said, "exceed those required for purely defensive needs."

The NATO commander said it was not his job to speculate about Soviet intentions, just their capability. "If that does not fall off," he added, "the West will have to spend more money, something which is already happening."

According to General Haig, the Soviet Union has in the past decade increased its tank strength by 40 percent and its conventional artillery by 50 percent, while adding 130,000 men to its forces in the Western theater.

But he argued that the biggest threat to the West in the foreseeable future is not direct attack. Rather, he said it is a continuing series of "ambivalent" situations we have known in the '60s and '70s — some the product of the third-world situation — which will continue to strain the unity of the NATO countries.

Europe

Spain: war of words rages over referendum

By Joe Gandelman
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Madrid
The campaign for Spain's referendum on constitutional reforms has begun with a bang on several fronts.

The reforms provide for a new two-house parliament, elections for which would take place next spring. Voting in the referendum is set for Dec. 15.

Amid fierce propaganda onslaughts from both sides, unguarded comments by some government ministers have threatened a new opposition-government "cold war."

Warning salvos came when Interior Minister Martin Villa said the government had "an obligation to complete the process of reform" and would act as "belligerently" toward the opposition's "illicit" campaign for abstention in the referendum as it did toward rightist foes of the reforms in the outgoing Cortes (parliament). Abstention, he added, would contradict "civil duty."

Another official declared that "to go against reform is to go against the will of the crown and government." One ministry leaked reports saying abstention would violate an Aug. 8, 1977, law that General Franco applied during his 1947 and 1964 referenda.

The liberated Spanish press then angrily

charged the government was calling abstainers "traitors."

"It has to be said very clearly that the government [of Premier Adolfo Suárez] is not the best to define what is democracy and what is not," harrumphed the Madrid daily El País. "The government threatens to fall into Francoist temptations inherent in its origins — the manipulation of a referendum which should be its first public act of purity and democratic credibility."

All this dropped like a bombshell on the moderate opposition which is struggling to detach itself from the more absolutist, left-wing parties.

Then Mr. Villa moved to tone down his controversial statement. He explained that "abstention is legal but I do not believe in it."

As a further olive branch the government bowed to international pressures by authorizing the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) to hold its congress here Dec. 5-7. The congress will be attended by Socialist leaders from other countries and will be the first such meeting in Spain in 40 years.

The opposition responded this past weekend by listing seven conditions for a "legitimate" referendum and parliamentary elections — among them total amnesty, lifting the ban on the Communist Party, and dismantling the apparatus of Franco's National Movement. However, the statement was relatively subdued in tone.

E. C. decisions wait for Carter

By Geoffrey Godsell
Overseas news editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

The heads of government of the nine European Common Market (EC) countries are the latest to go on record as being unable to make broad decisions until the new American President is sworn in Jan. 20.

At The Hague, where the nine have been holding a two-day summit, their officials said Tuesday they had agreed to get in touch with President-Elect Carter as soon as possible about world economic problems. (It was not clear whether they meant before or after the inauguration.) Their point was that Western Europe could not make decisions on its own pressing economic problems until it had some idea of what Mr. Carter's broad economic policy might be, how it might differ from his predecessor's, and how it might affect them.

The European summit is but one of three high-level conferences whose decisions are somehow intertwined with the change of administration in Washington. The two others are: the North-South conference (between rich industrial and poor developing countries), due to open in Paris Dec. 15, and the gathering of world oil-producing countries (OPEC) due in Qatar Dec. 15, from which is expected an announcement on increased world oil prices.

First things first

This schedule of conferences before Mr. Carter's inauguration has been widely noted as a sign of the new administration's priority.

Some OPEC members — some of the most important of whom are Arabs — do not want to commit themselves on the extent of proposed oil price increases until: (1) they have had some clue as to what Mr. Carter's attitude will be toward the Arabs in the Arab-Israeli dispute; and (2) until they have seen how generous the industrial nations are toward the developing nations at the North-South conference.

The industrial nations, or at least those of them which are members of the EC, say they cannot formulate a policy toward the poor developing countries until they have seen how the economies of rich and poor alike will be affected by any oil price increase decided by OPEC. Indeed, Irish Foreign Minister Garret Fitzgerald said in The Hague that there seemed to be general acceptance that the

North-South conference be postponed until February or March. The Associated Press quoted U.S. officials in Washington as agreeing.

Prior postponement?

Before this consensus for postponement had begun to show itself, the Middle East Economic Survey, the authoritative weekly, had reported that OPEC was moving toward a postponement of its own meeting from Dec. 15 to Dec. 20 to give its members an opportunity to see what happened at the North-South meeting. The survey said: "The reshuffling of dates is a reflection of the intricate poker game now being played between the industrialized nations and the OPEC-third world grouping, neither of which wants to show its cards until it has seen the other's hand."

Most of the EC members — particularly Britain, Ireland, and Italy — have grim economic problems of their own, and these would be worsened significantly by any increase in the price of oil. French President Giscard d'Estaing was reported to have asked his fellow heads of government at The Hague to put a ceiling on their oil imports.

Aid rushed to homeless Turks

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Istanbul
The distribution of relief supplies.

The United States has made 25 cargo planes available from the NATO base at Incirlik to fly in supplies from NATO countries. The Turkish Government has mobilized civilian services and troops for the rescue operations.

Turkey's underdeveloped eastern region is frequently shaken by earthquakes. The poor quality of the houses in the quake zone and the remoteness of the villages make ever taken effective measures to cope with this continuing problem. Turkish television and newspapers have complained time and again that no aid of lack of planning and faulty organization and coordination, there have been delays in recovering bodies and rescuing injured people as well as in distributing relief supplies every time a severe quake has struck the area.

Moreover, no attempt has been made to reconstruct the towns and villages in the tremor belt in earthquake materials. Most of the housing in the villages are mud huts or primitive sun-dried brick buildings that crumble easily in a shock. Some newspapers say many lives would have been saved in the latest quake if the government had built proper housing in the area. Officials in Ankara put the number of killed at more than 1,000.



Anatolian farm
Mechanization is spreading but has not touched every Turkish farm

Turkey's bumper crops help in year of trouble

By Ralph Shaffer
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Istanbul
Turkey may become a food reservoir for its traditional trading partners — and some needy nations besides.

Despite its tragic earthquake, Nov. 24, and in a season when drought, poor distribution, high prices, and other economic disruptions have reduced food production in many countries, Turkey looks like a banquet-table cornucopia.

Exceptionally good growing weather, better use of modern fertilizer and mechanization techniques, plus improved seed strain and the

sheer muscle-energy of Turkish farmers and their families have combined in 1978 to give Turkey the best crops in history.

Preliminary statistics indicate this year the wheat — always a major crop — may exceed 1975's excellent figures by 10 percent. Government estimates indicate as much as 2 million tons will be available for export.

Current cotton stocks have been low; reduced acreage was expected to curtail the year's exports. But January-May figures show Turkey's cotton exports up a whopping 44 percent — from \$57.6 million U.S. to \$131.7 million. Tobacco, citrus, nut, and cereal crops all show correspondingly generous increases. Exports of prime-quality fresh fruit and vegetables rose by 60 percent, sugar beets 14 percent, and livestock products were up 170 percent.

Turkey, third behind the Soviet Union and France in arable land in Europe, relies heavily on its agricultural exports for economic stability. In spite of a drive to mechanize, farm products still account for 40 percent of Turkey's exports.

This year's bumper crops are good news not only to the farming sector but to a government hard-pressed by common world problems: falling foreign exchange reserves, domestic inflation, and rising unemployment. Adequate export sales of Turkey's agricultural products will help bolster the balance of payments and trade for 1978.

Deficits have been caused (according to mid-year figures) by a 25 percent reduction in gold and foreign exchange reserves and a 10 percent drop in workers' foreign remittances. But even at the half-year mark, the \$1.2 billion estimated trade deficit is considerably less than the \$1.8 billion of a year ago.

There are other pluses for Turkey in the bumper crop situation of 1978. To the attentive and observant members of the EC, Turkey shows up as the food reservoir it can be — regardless of crop conditions elsewhere in the world. And Turkey's dynamically strong agricultural background may eventually bring an attractive invitation to join the Common Market.

The long search for peace in Ulster

Dublin fears Britain will leave

By Jonathan Harsch
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Dublin
The government of the Republic of Ireland is deeply concerned about the growing campaign for British withdrawal from Northern Ireland.

It is worried that influential British politicians might join backbenchers in demanding when the problem of Northern Ireland is debated in the British Parliament in two weeks time.

In her speech from the throne opening the new session of Parliament Nov. 24, Queen Elizabeth spoke of the importance of Anglo-Irish cooperation in dealing with Northern Ireland. The Irish government hopes this cooperation will extend to careful handling of the parliamentary debate.

Irish politicians recognize that Britain's economic problems could sway its parliamentarians toward accepting withdrawal from Ulster in order to save the nearly 12 million (\$3,400,000) a day that the troubled province costs Britain. They also acknowledge that many outside Ireland sincerely think that British withdrawal would help end violence in the North.

To counter this the Dublin government is hammering home the message that any reduction in the British presence in the North would harm Ireland as a whole.

Irish Cabinet Minister Conor Cruise O'Brien said recently that a British commitment to withdrawal would mean opening the door that could lead to full-scale civil war in the island and to death and destruction on the scale of Lebanon.

Everyone, including the British, could safely withdraw, Dr. O'Brien said. But to demand commitment to withdraw when these conditions had not been created was to play politics with the lives of people not only in Northern Ireland but in the Republic of Ireland also, he said.

Unconditional British withdrawal from Northern Ireland was first sought by the illegal provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA). Some extreme Northern Irish Protestants now want Britain out, convinced they can defeat the IRA terrorists once Britain's restraining hand is withdrawn.

Some middle-of-the-road academics, economists, and minor politicians in the North also support withdrawal. They argue that Britain is sinking economically and politically and that Northern Ireland should not be dragged down with it.

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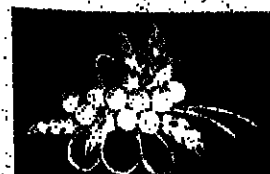
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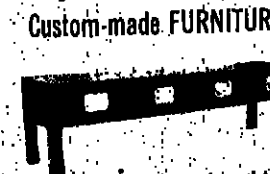
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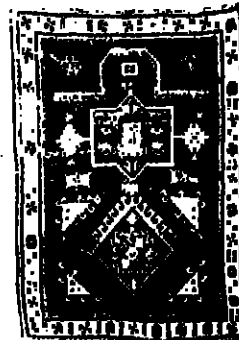


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Local peace group springs up

By Jonathan Harsch
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Dublin
After the fireworks of their launch phase, the Peace People of Northern Ireland are moving into a relatively quiet orbit. But the days ahead are seen as extremely challenging for them.

"The Peace People must continue their work as long as any member of the human family is causing or enduring injustice. And Northern Ireland's grass-roots campaign against terrorism must inspire, by word and example, an extraordinary courage at individual and community level."

So says Ciaran McKeown, the young Belfast journalist who founded the peace drive early last August along with Betty Williams and Mairead Corrigan.

Some disappointment followed the peace rally held in London's Trafalgar Square Nov. 27.

Attendance was half the anticipated figure, and less than half the number who turned up for the movement's largest rally in Belfast Aug. 28.

The London rally also gave groups supporting the illegal Irish Republican Army and demanding British withdrawal from Northern Ireland the opportunity to stage a noisy counter-demonstration.

Peace marches will continue. But from now on the focus will be on the scores of local peace groups springing up in communities throughout Ireland.

At best the rallies are a confidence boost and at worst a delusion about the peace movement's potential. The local groups, however, will provide a yardstick of the movement's success in tangible terms. And success will depend on the local groups examining local needs closely.

In the town of Strabane, for instance, unemployment is traditionally 30 percent, and in some families several generations have never had a job. So the local peace group is determined to promote jobs and hopes to start a glassmaking industry in the new year.

Other peace groups are concentrating on fighting vandalism, re-equipping schools, or simply raising funds.

Another plan is to twin Northern Ireland with some other area of suffering. In helping another part of the world, says Mr. McKeown, the Peace People "will be putting our own puny squabble into the realistic perspective of the extent of human misery in our time."

Mr. McKeown writes of the lessons learned so far: "Fear is the No. 1 enemy of peace, both at individual and community level. Fear not only makes dialogue and friendship impossible, but it makes decent people susceptible to the suggestions of prejudice, which in other circumstances they would utterly reject. As the movement of the Peace People continues, we will also have great joy, for we already have a peace in our hearts that no terror or grief or other affliction can ever again destroy, but merely reinforce."

Brezhnev challenges Carter: end freeze

By David K. Willis
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow
The Soviet Union, trying to seize the diplomatic initiative, has challenged U.S. President-Elect Jimmy Carter to move ahead quickly with strategic arms talks and disarmament on a wide front.

Moving swiftly to define how he wants détente to continue even before Mr. Carter takes office, Soviet party leader Leonid I. Brezhnev has issued his strongest call yet to the President-Elect.

In a blunt speech at a dinner for visiting Treasury Secretary William E. Simon Nov. 30, Mr. Brezhnev restated a list of Soviet disarmament proposals and called for an end to what he called the "freeze imposed by Washington almost a year ago" on strategic arms talks.

He gave no indication, however, of Moscow's willingness to compromise on the issue of limitations on the Backfire bomber or the U.S. cruise missile.

Mr. Brezhnev's remarks reflected a clear concern at anti-Soviet statements made during the U.S. presidential campaign. While he did not mention either candidate by name, he dismissed as "rubbish" campaign talk of dealing with Moscow "from a position of strength" and of Moscow's preparing for a first nuclear strike.



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Asia

Chairman Hua: another Mao in our midst?

By Frederic A. Moritz
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Hong Kong

It is barely seven months since Hua Kuo-feng emerged from relative obscurity to become the No. 1 figure in China, and already he is being portrayed as a model of virtue worthy of being the successor to Mao Tse-tung.

The Chinese press is picturing Mr. Hua as selfless, straightforward, far-sighted — an experienced revolutionary leader with a thorough knowledge of Marxist theory and practice. But in line with cultural tradition, it also emphasizes that he holds his authority because of his personal virtue — which other citizens would do well to emulate — and because of his commitment to the welfare of the people.

The transformation of Mr. Hua's image from that of a loyal follower of the late Chairman Mao to a man worthy of leadership in his own right is being accomplished with a series of well-publicized testimonials said to come from teachers, students, peasants, and workers who have observed Mr. Hua's work and character since he began as a local Communist Party administrator.

Emphasis shifts

Although Mr. Hua is still praised as a loyal follower of Chairman Mao, the emphasis has gradually shifted. Now Chairman Mao is being commended for having the wisdom to recognize Mr. Hua's abilities.

And whereas Mr. Hua was widely quoted not long ago for re-emphasizing the revered thoughts of Mao Tse-tung, he now finds his own quotations enshrined as guides to action. His exhortation to "be meticulous in organization and direction" (following the Nov. 17 Chinese hydrogen bomb test) gradually has come to represent his emphasis on careful administration, economic progress, and selective use of foreign technology to make the country modern and strong.

Chinese readers also have been told for the first time something of Mr. Hua's family, the existence of which had been generally unknown. Two weeks ago the Peking People's Daily revealed that Mr. Hua has a wife, at least one daughter, named Hsiao Li, and several other children, although their names and the name of his wife were not included in the report.

Country first

The revelation that Hsiao Li attended No. 166 Middle School (high school) in Peking also served to demonstrate that her father has long put the interests of his country before those of his family. Mr. Hua sent his daughter to work in the countryside after her 1974 graduation, the newspaper said, because Chairman Mao had declared, "the countryside needs educated young people, and educated young people need to go to the countryside in order to temper themselves."

Earlier, when Mr. Hua visited the school, he was said to have left "an unforgettable impression" on the students and teachers after standing up and talking "with heart-warming kindness" while his "firm tone and ringing voice resounded in the school hall."

Soviets zero in on black market furs

Many speculators in Siberia are fleeing the Soviet authorities out of thousands of rubles a year. Private breeders of Arctic foxes are using eggs and fetuses from state farms to fatten up their animals, then selling their pelts on the black market, the newspaper said. In one small district of western Siberia, private breeders last year made 100,000 rubles (\$110,000) clear profit, according to the district's financial authorities.



Soviet troops patrolling border with China — behind them are 40 divisions, Peking complains

Wary Peking awaits Soviet border talks

By Frederic A. Moritz
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Hong Kong

The latest Soviet overture to warm relations with China is expected to reopen border talks for the first time in 18 months.

Indeed, a Soviet delegation led by Deputy Foreign Minister and veteran border talks negotiator Leonid F. Ilyichev recently arrived in Peking to an apparently cordial welcome.

But the Chinese negotiators will be looking less for general statements of friendship from the talks, and more for concrete answers to at least three specific questions.

They are:
• Whether the Soviets are willing to begin a reduction of the force of 40 divisions that they station along the northern Chinese border. The Chinese long have insisted that Soviet proposals for a mutual nonaggression pact are useless without a reduction of forces along the Amur and Ussuri Rivers. Border clashes between the

two countries erupted over disputes in the Ussuri River area in 1969.

Up to now the Soviets have been reluctant to discuss such withdrawals, according to diplomatic sources.

The importance China places on a reduction of Soviet troops was stressed indirectly by a New China News Agency commentary on the same day Mr. Ilyichev arrived in Peking.

Although the commentary was largely devoted to alleged Soviet military expansionism in Europe, it pointedly added, "It is known by all that the Soviet Union has never reduced its forces by a single man or rifle."

• What method should be used to settle the status of disputed segments of the border? Prior to 1974, the Soviets insisted that the border was defined by protocol agreements in the 1860 Treaty of Peking. But the Chinese denounced this as an "unequal, treaty" and one imposed by force. In late 1974 the Soviets indicated they might go at least part way toward the Chinese position, which argues that prin-

ciples of international law governing "dual rivers" should be used to solve the Ussuri River issue. (Under this rule the boundary would run along the mainstream or central of the river rather than along river banks, as in the 1860 treaty.)

• Is the Soviet Union willing to tone down its policy of what the Chinese see as "encroachment" through naval and political expansion South and Southeast Asia and the Pacific?

While Mr. Ilyichev was arriving in Peking, Western diplomatic sources reported that Soviet journalist Victor Louis was on a mission to Taiwan. Mr. Louis, who has often acted as a semi-official representative for the Soviet Government, drew sharp Chinese condemnation when he visited Taiwan at the height of the Chinese-Soviet border dispute in 1969.

That visit sparked speculation that the Soviet Union was "flirting" with the Chinese Nationalist Government either to seek a new Asian ally or to make the Communist Chinese Government more cooperative by (in effect) threatening to support Gen. Chiang Kai-shek on Taiwan.

If Mr. Louis does visit Taiwan the Soviet Union could again be seen by Peking as threatening to intervene in the still-unfinished Chinese civil war.

Such conclusions are bound to be fueled by the fact that Premier Chiang Ching-kuo of Taiwan studied in the Soviet Union in the 1930s and has a Russian wife. The possibility that he might turn to the Soviet Union to compensate for declining American support has long intrigued diplomats. But a number of experts argue that it is unlikely that Premier Chiang will become closely involved with the Soviet Union because doing so would risk inviting the Chinese Government in Peking to step up efforts to overthrow him.

Sri Lanka bans 'export of children'

By A. B. Mendis
Special to The Christian Science Monitor
Colombo, Sri Lanka

Until further notice, Sri Lanka has put a stop to the "export of children" for adoption in other countries.

The Ministry of Social Services, in ordering the suspension, said it wants to find out whether children sent abroad for adoption actually receive the care and protection they are supposed to get. A ministry official said the export of children had reached alarming proportions, with applications in one recent month alone totaling 60.

Although the release of children from homes of the state Department of Probation and Child Care Service already had been stopped, the official continued, private individuals and organizations were continuing to send children abroad.

Most foster parents seeking Sri Lanka children for adoption have been from the Scandinavian countries. And while the social services official here did not deny that many of these children have died, he said, many have been

he said others sought to adopt merely as a status symbol. Children adopted by persons in the latter category, he said, faced problems in later life.

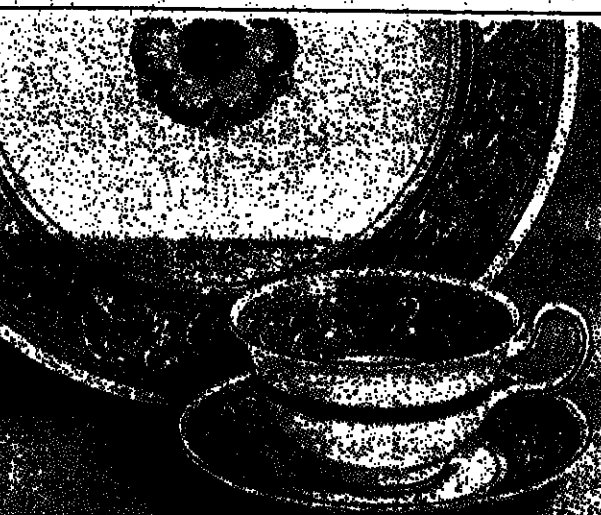
A commission has been formed here to look into the adoption question and report its findings. Until the report has been issued and studied by the appropriate authorities, no foreigners will be permitted to take children out of the country.

There have been no complaints from children who already have left Sri Lanka for adoption, sources say, but such complaints have been reported from neighboring India.

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INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON ZIONISM

HELD IN BAGHDAD, IRAQ, 8-12 NOVEMBER, 1976

DECLARATION

1 Meeting under the auspices of the University of Baghdad, academics and intellectuals from 46 countries have examined and discussed Zionism, its origins, theory and practice, in the light of the UN General Assembly resolution 3379 (XXX) of 10 November 1975. The Resolution was adopted on the basis of the International Convention of Elimination of Racial Discrimination, which constitutes an international legal document and contains an explicit definition of racism.

2 Recalling that in that resolution the General Assembly determined that "Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination" the participants of the Symposium expressed the view that this resolution reflected the world's growing awareness of the true nature of Zionism and of the danger it represented to the peoples of the area and to world peace.

3 Recalling that when the General Assembly in November 1947 recommended the partition of Palestine, the United Nations consisted of only 50 member states, the Symposium noted that the resolution of November 1975 equating Zionism with racism had been adopted when membership of the United Nations had become more genuinely representative of the opinion of the world as a whole.

4 Zionism as a colonial-settler concept was an offshoot of 19th century imperialism. At the same time it reflected the prevalent trend of expansionist nationalism and the mistaken view that the solution of anti-Semitism lay in the self-segregation of Jews in a society from which non-Jews were to be excluded. Recognizing that persecution of Jews was an important factor in the growth of Zionism, the participants in this Symposium unequivocally condemn anti-Semitism and pledge themselves to oppose it, like any other form of racism, wherever it may exist.

5 In inviting the immigration of all the Jews of the world, Zionism shows itself in its essence to be expansionist. By pursuing this aim, it condemns the "Jews" to a perpetual war for "living space" at the expense of the peoples of the Middle East.

Because of the necessity for territorial expansion which it involves, Zionism has not succeeded, and by its very nature cannot succeed, in satisfying the legitimate aspirations of persecuted Jews to attain security. Moreover by calling on all Jews to come to Palestine, it pursues the very goal which the most hateful of anti-Semites have set themselves: to confine all Jews in a world ghetto. It is as defenders of progress, peace and humanism that we denounce this attack on human unity.

6 By setting itself the objective of a racially exclusive Jewish state, in disregard of the rights of the Arabs of Palestine, Zionism adopted from its inception an essentially racist character.

7 For them to achieve their ambitions, it became necessary for the Zionists to dispose of the Arab population of Palestine, which they achieved in 1947/8 by intimidation and violence, resulting in the eviction of the greater part of the indigenous population.

8 By pursuing, after they had achieved statehood, the objective of the "ingathering" into Palestine of the Jews of the world, and by conferring on all Jews a "right of return" which they denied to the Palestinian Arabs, the Zionists confirmed the racist nature of their design.

9 Against those Palestinian Arabs who remained, the Zionist authorities practiced a policy of institutionalized racial discrimination. This was embodied in a series of laws expressly designed to restrict their human and political rights, to confiscate their land and suppress their sense of a national identity.

10 Even among the Jewish settlers, Zionism reflecting the 19th century European concept of racial supremacy, practiced a form of discrimination against the non-European Jews.

11 Eviction of the Palestinians and Zionist expansionism necessitated the use of violence, which in turn led to conflict with the surrounding Arab States, whose recurrence came to threaten world peace.

12 Zionism's cooperation with other racist regimes, as evidenced by its close relationships with Rhodesia and South Africa, is a natural outcome of its roots and developments, for it has always drawn its support and sustenance from imperialism and settler-colonial regimes.

13 Supported by the imperialist powers, Zionism was used to extend the influence and promote the interests of imperialism in the Arab homeland and in the Third World.

14 By their steadfastness in maintaining the struggle for their rights by all means, including armed resistance, the Palestinians have helped to promote a proper understanding of the essentially racist character of the theory and practice of Zionism. The struggle of the Palestinian Arabs, which has been supported by popular forces in the Arab world and by other national liberation movements in the world at large, has demonstrated

that the conflict in the Middle East is a conflict between the reactionary Zionist movement, backed by U.S. imperialism, and the Palestinian Arab liberation movement enjoying the backing of similar progressive movements inside and outside the Arab world, as well as the support of progressive and peace-loving countries.

15 Palestinian determination and willingness to make sacrifices for the cause of liberation, reinforced by the spirit of our era, make it inevitable that Zionism, together with all other forms of racism, will eventually be defeated. Victory for the Palestinian cause will not be a victory for the Palestinians alone: it will constitute an important milestone on the road to liberation from oppression throughout the world.

16 We express our deepest sympathy with the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples' suffering from the agonizing effects of a brutal civil war aimed at their peace, unity, progress, and the independence of Lebanon.

We express our support for the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese national movement, which constitute an integral part of the struggle for Palestine. In their struggle against separatism, secularism, and the propagation of the Zionist model in Lebanon.

17 Zionism is the obstacle to peace in the Middle East. The Palestinian struggle to establish in its place a secular progressive Palestinian society, all of whose citizens enjoy equal rights, irrespective of religion, colour or ethnic origin, deserves the active support of free peoples throughout the world. We particularly invite the cooperation of anti-Zionist Jews and hope for better understanding from citizens of Western countries in the struggle to combat Zionism.

18 We commend the measures taken by those Arab governments which have invited Arab Jews to return to their countries of origin. On the other hand we express our apprehension over continuing Zionist efforts to stimulate Jewish immigration to Palestine, which we believe will only increase the tension in the area and so threaten world peace.

19 Encouraged by the growing recognition throughout the world of the racist and reactionary character of Zionism, of which the UN resolution is an important manifestation, we call upon all individuals, organizations and movements working for peace and justice to join in the struggle against Zionism. In particular we urge intellectuals and academic institutions to give serious attention to this issue and to involve themselves in the campaign to eliminate Zionism and all other forms of racism.

UNIVERSITY OF BAGHDAD, IRAQ

Latin America

Mexico changes presidents amid fiscal, political crisis

By James Nelson Goodsell
Latin America correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

José López Portillo became President of 63 million Mexicans last week amid the most serious economic and political crisis to face Mexico since the Revolution of 1910.

Topping the crisis is a dramatic erosion in the value of the once-buoyant Mexican peso. In three months it has lost over half its value, and capital is fleeing out of pesos and into dollars.

Moreover, the long-stable political climate has been torn asunder by the actions of outgoing President Luis Echeverría Álvarez, who in a surprise move two weeks before leaving office expropriated 250,000 acres of farm and ranchland and gave it to landless peasants.

The move may have endeared him with the peasants, but it shocked Mexico's business and industrial community, which issued a number of bitter denunciations of President Echeverría.

Mr. López Portillo, who has remained silent throughout the mushrooming crisis except for an appeal for calm and tranquillity, is expected to clamp stiff controls on the economy to prevent any further slide in the peso.

But it will take more than controls to arrest the economic crisis. He will need to show a tough approach in dealing with many political problems he inherited, not the least of which is the escalating problem over land.

When he was elected last July, Mr. López Portillo indicated his first priority on assuming

office Dec. 1 would be restoration of sagging ties with the United States.

Now, other priorities lead the list. Yet, in many ways, the methods he uses and the success he has in dealing with these other problems will play a role in his rebuilding of ties with the United States.

The U.S. business community is deeply worried by Mexico's economic crisis. The peso slide hit U.S. businessmen as they were reeling from earlier economic decrees by the Echeverría government and from a variety of economic problems in Mexico including a serious inflation.

The U.S. Government is similarly concerned about its southern neighbor's political problems. The last thing Washington wants is an

unstable Mexico on its doorstep. For decades Washington has counted on a stable Mexico. But in recent months, the stable has been eroding — and the serious consequences over land threatens to erode stability more in the eyes of Washington observers.

Thus, the hope in Washington is that Mr. López Portillo as president will be able to restore both the economic and political slide in order. That is a tall assignment, it is agreed.

But Mr. López Portillo is regarded as an able economist and an able administrator. The unknown part of the equation is whether he has the political power to make his decisions stick.

As President, he has the many prerogatives of that office.

He has set up a university-level school, Third World University, and, together with friends, he has purchased a major Mexican newspaper, radio stations, and television outlets. Through both, it is expected will continue to espouse the sharply national line that has been the hallmark of his administration.

That could prove a problem for Mr. López Portillo, who, although no less a nationalist, is regarded as something of a realist regarding both domestic and foreign policies. His coming President's concern about relations with the U.S. is a case in point. He simply: that Mexico must get along with the U.S.

Mr. Echeverría often angered the U.S. in his hemisphere and world forums and in bilateral negotiations. If he continues this approach in his university and in his publishing-house empire, he would likely make it difficult for Mr. López Portillo to shore up relations with Washington.

Mr. Echeverría did, however, push ties with the U.S. — signed this week — provides for the exchange of prisoners between the two countries. If ratified next spring, the Senate of both nations, it would permit change of 500 prisoners from each nation.

Cuba gives a little more to the people

By James Nelson Goodsell
Latin America correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Cuba took a long step last week toward restructuring its government.

On Thursday, a newly formed National Assembly met in Havana for the first time, one day after a structural change split up the island's present six provinces into 15 new provincial units.

The moves are part of Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro's effort to institutionalize the revolution he began 20 years ago.

Moreover, they are part of an effort to bring Cuba's 9.6 million people into the political process.

Since February, when the Cuban people approved a new Constitution for the island replacing the document of 1940, there have been a series of elections to name delegates to the National Assembly.

The elections, which actually began in a dress rehearsal in the small province of Matanzas in July, 1974, are aimed at allowing the Cuban people, rather than the Communist Party, to carry out many of the tasks of running the government. The Communist Party may well hover over the scene, but the electoral process, known as the "people's power program," does give the Cuban citizen something of a say in government.

Critics of Dr. Castro's government argue that the change is little more than window dressing and that Cuba is still ruled with an iron fist by Dr. Castro and his immediate associates.

This criticism notwithstanding, the changes taking place in governing apparatus of the island amount to a major reform of the Cuban political system. Moreover, it needs to be noted that the elections of the past year and those contemplated in the future offer a degree of freedom of choice unknown in Cuba in the 18 years since Dr. Castro came to power.

The changes spring from the failure in 1970 of the much-publicized goal to produce 10 million tons of sugar. Dr. Castro assumed the blame for the failure, but he added that part of the problem was too much centralization of



power and decision-making authority in Havana.

The Communist Party, he and others said, simply had too much of the reins of power in its hands. It was argued that the party could not possibly make adequate decisions for the provinces in all cases. This led to the planning for a new Constitution, establishment of a National Assembly, the system of elections, and the breakup of the six provinces into smaller units.

The new provincial setup is a major administrative change. While the western provinces of Pinar del Río, Habana, and Matanzas remain roughly as before, the three eastern provinces of Las Villas, Camaguey, and Oriente are broken into 10 provinces. The city of Havana is separated also from the province, and the Isle of Pines, which was administered by Pinar del Río Province, becomes a separate municipality.

Some of the names of the new provinces ring with the mystique of the Cuban revolution: Cienfuegos, carved out of part of the former Las Villas, was named for Dr. Castro's former comrade in arms, Camilo Cienfuegos, who mysteriously disappeared 17 years ago last month; Granma, which is carved out of the former Oriente, is named for the yacht that

carried Dr. Castro and his fellow revolutionaries to the island in 1958 to begin their successful rebellion against dictator Fulgencio Batista.

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Australians support art despite high cost

By Ronald Vickers
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Sydney, Australia

Can the performing arts of Australia survive a totally negative review by one of their severest critics?

Former Prime Minister Gough Whitlam, while still in office, asked a panel known as the Industries Assistance Commission to conduct a study of the financial needs of opera, ballet, theater, and other cultural media and report its findings. Now the commission has finished its work, and has dumped cold water all over the idea of subsidies to the arts.

The commission, accustomed to assessing the tangible gains to be made by government support or protection of various industries, failed to find measurable proof of the benefits of culture to Australian society. So, it concluded, such benefits did not exist and government subsidies could thus be reduced by 20 percent a year for the next five years.

Any future support, the report went on, should be limited to assistance for education in the performing arts, for increasing the dissemination of cultural programming by technological methods, and for encouraging innovations (particularly those related to distinctive characteristics of the Australian community).

Australia should discard all artistic heritage derived from older cultures, the report said, unless activities based on this heritage can be made profitable.

And, the commission found, six symphony orchestras last year cost the government \$22 million (\$27.5 million U.S.) in subsidies while attracting only 20 percent of that amount from patrons. Meanwhile, direct subsidies to the

Australian Opera and its orchestra amount to \$11,000 (\$13,750 U.S.) a year for each employee.

The commission's report has met with angry reaction from supporters of the arts and scathing criticism from the news media.

The most interesting feature of the report, say observers here, is that both its criteria and its findings run counter to the national trend that has developed over the past 20 years — or since the Sydney Opera House was first proposed.

Now that the famous opera house is a fact, each of the other mainland Australia state capitals (Hobart, capital of the island state of Tasmania, not included) has built or is planning a major cultural center of its own. Although none of these rivals the Sydney Opera House in originality or cost — original estimate \$7 million, final cost \$100 million (\$125 million U.S.) — each makes a large contribution to the cultural life of the city for which it was designed.

The latest such center, announced near the end of last year, is to be built by the Queensland government on the banks of the Brisbane River at a cost of \$45 million (\$56 million U.S.).

Considering the support for culture in Australia these days, it seems unlikely that either the national government or private donors will pay much heed to the commission's recommendations. For instance, the Australian Opera recently received a \$250,000 (\$312,000 U.S.) grant from the government in Canberra as well as a like amount from a mining company and still more from the New South Wales state government.

The question many persons here are asking is why an industrial commission was asked to prepare a report on the arts in the first place.



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South Africa

'We cannot accept apartheid' 16-year-old girl tells judge

By Humphrey Tyler
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Cape Town — An intense 16-year-old Cape Town schoolgirl has delivered a stunning indictment of South African race policies, face to face with a judge of the South African Supreme Court.

She told him that young blacks will no longer tolerate the social system of apartheid or separate development of the races. It "has become an insult to our human dignity," and "our whole being rebels against the whole South African existence," she said.

"The system of apartheid does not allow us to grow to full womanhood or manhood. It is reducing us to intellectual cripples."

The girl is Miriam Gafoor, and she was giving evidence before the government commission investigating the causes of the recent unrest in cities almost everywhere in South Africa.

Most refuse

The judge who is taking evidence is Justice P. M. Cillie, the judge president of the Transvaal Province Supreme Court.

Many blacks have refused to give evidence to the commission because they refuse to have anything more to do with any aspect of the "South African system." Others have refused because they say they fear reprisals from the police.

Miss Gafoor declined to give her evidence anonymously — as other black witnesses have done — and her guardian agreed that newspapers could publish her name.

She said, "I am a student at Salt River High School, facing charges of public violence and arson. I was suspended from my school with seven other students. I am 10 years old and I have been locked up, refused food, and interrogated. . . . Our teacher, whose only crime has been to protect us on our march to town, has been detained. What for, none of us know."

"It is a pity that the regime cannot see that the cause for the present unrest is the whole policy and implementation of apartheid."

Heritage rejected

"When we were born we found our fathers struggling under the yoke of oppression. We found our social, economic, and political situation was neither our fathers' nor our own making."

"We, the youth of South Africa, reject the subservient heritage that has been handed down to us."

"We came, we saw, we acted and reacted to the whole system of oppression and discriminatory laws. We cannot accept, as our fathers did, the whole system of apartheid."

Miss Gafoor also challenged the figures given by the police on the number of people killed in the unrest. According to the police, 176 people died in Soweto and 82 in Cape Town. Miss Gafoor said she had "a different death toll to the official list."

She said that people soon realized that it was difficult to obtain bodies from the police unless they were prepared to sign a form stating that the dead person had taken part in the rioting. So they simply removed their dead, instead of allowing them to lie at police stations.

The judge questioned her further about this. He said that it was known that, in other areas,



African township near Durban

Young blacks begin to speak out

people who were killed or injured "during the riots" were sometimes removed by students and demonstrators. "Did this happen here?"

Miss Gafoor: Yes.

Justice Cillie: What happened to the bodies?

Miss Gafoor: They were taken away and buried.

Justice Cillie: You can't just go and bury the body of a dead person — it is against the law and there are many rules and regulations relating to this.

Miss Gafoor: It is against the law, but people have done it.

How 'Dr. No' got his name

By Humphrey Tyler
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Cape Town — A row has broken out within South Africa's ruling Nationalist Party between those who want a new deal for the country and hard-line defenders of the policy of apartheid — separate development of the races.

On the side of the "new dealers" are Afrikaans intellectuals, Afrikaans newspaper editors, and a handful of Cabinet ministers.

On the other side is a group of arch conservatives headed by a four-deputy Cabinet Minister known throughout the country as "Dr. No" because he refuses to budge from the orthodox line on apartheid.

Prime Minister John Vorster tried to bring peace to the warring factions. But he only succeeded in talking himself into a corner. In the end, to his own discredit, to the consternation of his party's more progressive wing, and to the considerable delight of his political enemies, he was forced to back the wily Dr. No.

Dr. No is Dr. Andrie Pretorius Treurnicht, who is in the classic mold of old-time Afrikaans political leaders.

He has close connections with the highly influential and exclusive Afrikaans secret society "the Broederbond" (the "band of brothers"), which can make or break political careers in South Africa.

From the start of his public career, Treurnicht has spelled trouble for the progressive wing of the National Party. Any time he has made adaptations or amendments to party policy, he has called them to order, quoting basic party apartheid policy.

On race laws: The abhorrent Immorality Act — which prohibits close personal relationships between people of different races — "must stay to preserve our identity."

On pleas by various churches for the relaxation of the race laws: "The churches are lying for a confrontation with the government."

Most recently the row between Treurnicht and the so-called "verligtes" meaning roughly "those who have seen the light politically" — as opposed to the "krampties" ("those with politically & minds, ultraconservatives") — has been the opening of public facilities such as hotels and theaters, to all races.

In an attempt to hush the uproar, Minister Vorster issued a terse statement saying that he was "not aware that Treurnicht has said anything which does not conform to the policy of the National Party."

Most embarrassing for Mr. Vorster was his own statement supporting Dr. Treurnicht's self-supported then by two fanatical politicians who lead the bitterly racist Afrikaner Party, Dr. Albert Hertzog, former cabinet minister, and his deputy, Jaap Marais.

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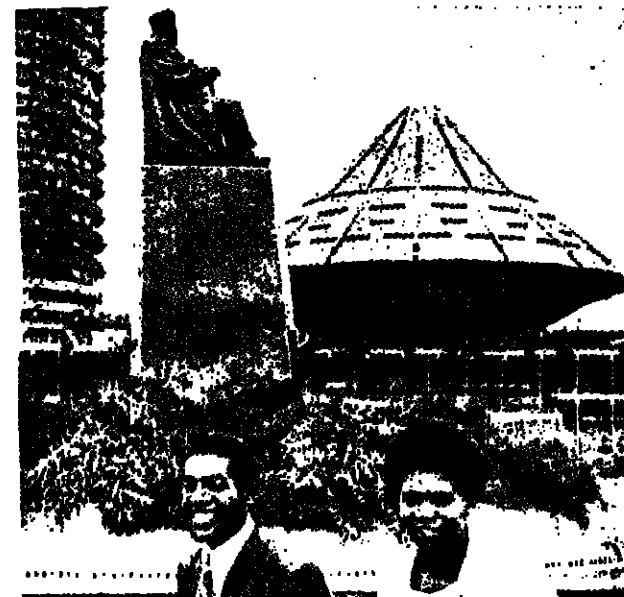
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Will U.S. be satisfied?

UNESCO softens its anti-Israel stand

By David Anable

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor



Convention Center, Nairobi By R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer

UNESCO conference ends

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United Nations

in East Jerusalem. And a smaller majority condemned Israel's
educational policies for Arabs in the occupied territories.

So the "spirit of Nairobi," as the conciliatory mood was
called, only partially prevailed. If it fails to sway the U.S. Con-
gress, UNESCO is headed for a major financial upheaval.

The U.S. normally provides one-quarter of UNESCO's bud-
get. Washington is two years in arrears — some \$39 million — a
gap being shakily bridged by UNESCO Director General Am-
adou M'bow with interest-free loans mainly from oil-rich Arab
nations.

With no congressional reversal the U.S. deficit next year will
climb \$70 million. That would be virtually unbridgeable, and
there is talk of a possible extraordinary UNESCO general con-
ference to take emergency action.

At such a meeting the United States would have no vote,
being more than two years in arrears with its contributions. It
would then be only one step away from actual withdrawal
from the organization.

The alternative is for the U.S. to take a broad and con-
ciliatory view of the past five weeks' proceedings and act ac-
cordingly.

It could welcome the genuine efforts in Nairobi to avoid con-
frontation. Specifically, it could applaud Israel's election to
UNESCO's "European" group.

It could note Israel's belated acceptance of a UNESCO fac-
t-finding mission to look into education in the occupied terri-
tories, plus the subsequent softening of condemnation for Is-
rael's policies there.

It could reflect on the Soviet Union's resounding defeat over
a resolution on the communications media. "The Declaration
of the Mass Media," which many Western nations saw as an
attack on press freedom, was put aside for further study.

It could observe that besides the more controversial topics,
the conference grappled with a great range of constructive
subjects — from combating illiteracy and promoting educa-
tion, to preserving the Acropolis in Athens and studying re-
gional cultures.

If this positive alternative prevails, both with President Car-
ter and with Congress, then the U.S. could resume its contribu-
tions to UNESCO and the boycott of the organization by many
Western intellectuals could perhaps be called off.

The State Department is expected to push this view. But in
the immediate wake of the Oct. 24-Nov. 30 conference no one
is at all sure whether UNESCO still faces crisis . . . or reunion.

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Middle East

Oil keeps Mideast on the boil

By John K. Cooley
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Athens
As oil-producing states approach crucial decisions affecting 70 percent of the West's oil supplies, political and military storm signals are flashing from the Persian Gulf and Arabian peninsula.

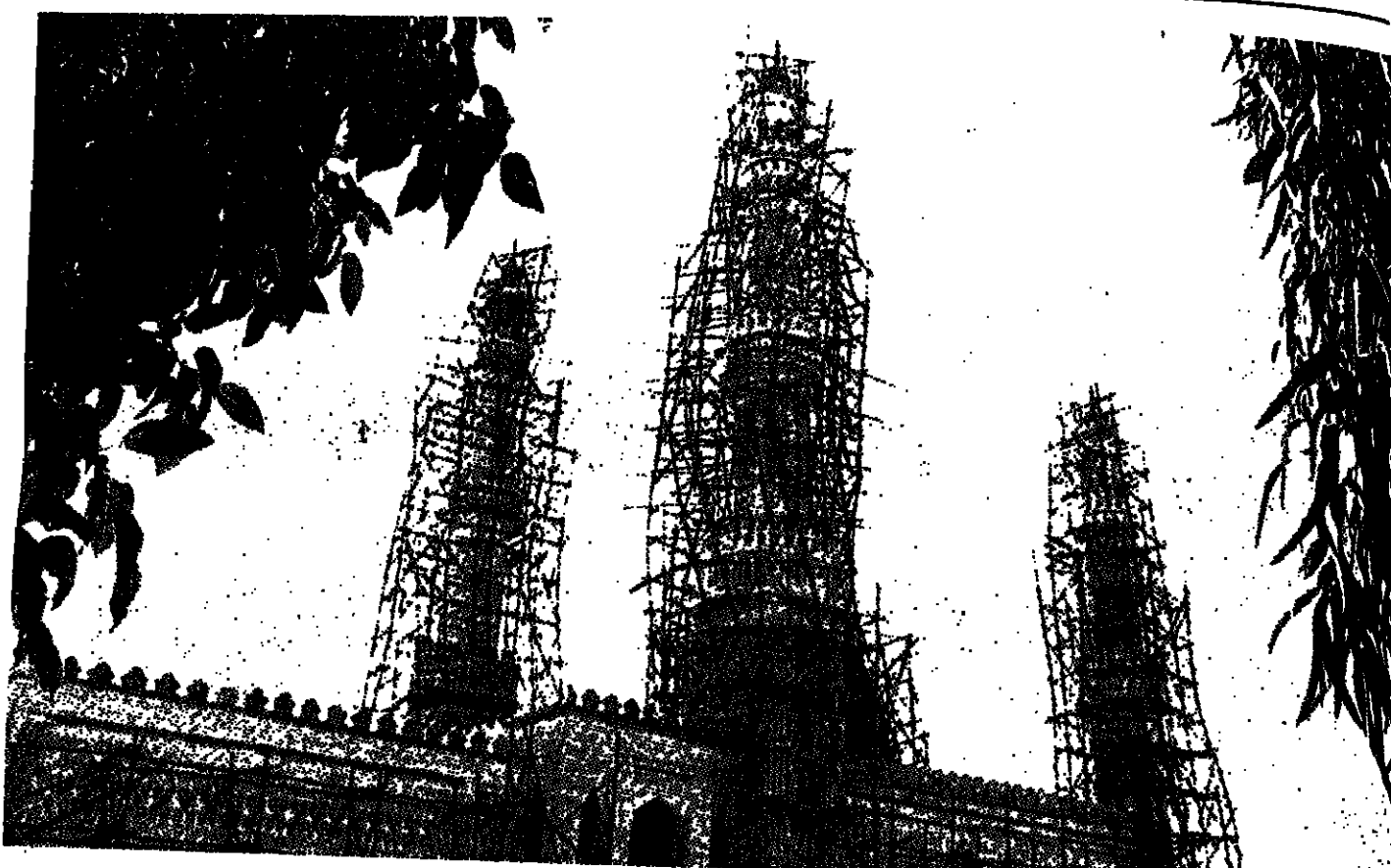
Oil ministers are scheduled to meet at Doha, in the Gulf Emirate of Qatar, Dec. 20, to determine whether and how much to raise oil prices. In addition, many sources report that Saudi Arabia is putting finishing touches on its long-planned, toughly negotiated take-over of the remaining assets of the Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco), now controlling nearly a third of oil imports to the United States.

Following rapidly bolted Saudi Arabia will likely be action by Kuwait. That wealthy state is already talking with the British Petroleum and Gulf Oil about acquiring their remaining 40 percent share in Kuwait's national oil company. This is expected to be closely coordinated with the Saudis, since the Saudi Government is a shareholder in the Arabian oil company that operates in the diamond-shaped neutral zone between the two countries.

Against this backdrop of economic change, several events have signaled new political turbulence in Arabia:

• North Yemen, whose conservative government is closely allied to Saudi Arabia and has been promised U.S. military help, said Nov. 27 its anti-aircraft defenses fired on "enemy" aircraft flying in the interests of Israel. The aircraft had violated Saudi airspace near the Strait of Bab al-Mandab, it said.

The strait is the narrow passage from the Indian Ocean and Arabian Sea, leading up into the Red Sea and toward Sinai and Israel. It is



Mosques under construction: oil money at work in Kuwait

By Gordon N. Converse, chief photographer

the sea route over which oil supplies from Iran flow to Israel, Jordan, Egypt, Sudan, and Israel, as well as Saudi Arabia, use it for trade with Africa and Asia. Egypt and South Yemen together blockaded it during the 1973 Arab-Israeli war to prevent oil from reaching Israel.

• North Yemen's radical neighbor, South Yemen, said Nov. 24 it had shot down a Phantom F-4 fighter-bomber and captured the pilot. The radio in South Yemen's capital, Aden, claimed the pilot confessed he was on a spying mission from an Iranian base in Oman, east of South Yemen.

Iranian land, sea, and air forces have been supporting the Sultan of Oman's Army against a guerrilla rebellion based in South Yemen. The Sultan also has British military advisers and some U.S. arms aid. Last year the Sultan's

government claimed the revolt was crushed, but asked Iran to keep its forces in the area.

Iran first denied loss of the plane, then said it was shot down over Oman airspace. It accused South Yemen of aggression and promised appropriate measures.

• Foreign ministers of eight Gulf states ended a meeting in Muscat, Oman, Nov. 28 without reaching a security agreement for the area which Iran and Saudi Arabia, rivals and neighbors, had each sought for its own reasons. News agency reports from Muscat indicated Iraq had prevented agreement.

Before the conference broke up, Sultan Qabus of Oman told the other Gulf leaders that if Oman fell, the rest of the area would be threatened by Communist invasion. Iranian spokesmen said Shah Reza Pahlavi's govern-

ment did not insist on a formal security pact, but would accept any arrangement to keep the superpowers out of the area.

There was a curious bit of propaganda byplay. On Nov. 19 the guerrilla Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman (P.F.L.O.) announced on Aden Radio it would halt broadcasting from Aden for technical reasons. Stoppage of the broadcasts is something Saudi Arabia would like to see as well as Oman. Saudi Arabia has promised South Yemen financial aid.

But since the P.F.L.O. arrangement Aden's Voice of Oman has been in business as usual, broadcasting revolutionary songs and slogans, attacking the Shah and Sultan Qabus and the projected Gulf security alliance, even appealing in the Persian language to the Iranian troops in Oman to mutiny.

Allon on peace prospects

By Jason Morris
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Sde Boker, Israel
Israeli Foreign Minister Yigal Allon forecasts renewal of international diplomatic momentum "within the next few months" toward solving the Middle East dispute. He says the fact that this will coincide with Israel's national election next year should not matter.

On the contrary, Mr. Allon said Monday the possibility of a compromise formula for peace becoming a central issue in the 1977 campaign would give the Israeli voter a real issue.

Mr. Allon, who also is deputy premier, spoke before the editors' committee of the nation's mass media. The occasion was the 20th anniversary of the UN General Assembly's decision to partition Palestine and establish independent Jewish and Arab states within its borders.

The traditional observance was held in this desert kibbutz farm settlement because the date also marks the third anniversary of the passing of David Ben-Gurion, one of Israel's founding fathers and its first prime minister and minister of defense, who had made Sde Boker his home.

On the still-alarming question of southern Lebanon, Mr. Allon proposed a bilateral agreement between Israel and newly installed Lebanese President Elias Sarkis under which "Lebanese forces" would patrol the Lebanese side of the border and Israel force the Israeli side.

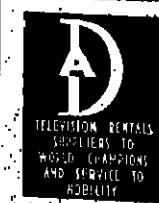
"The Foreign Minister avoided clear-cut definition of the so-called 'red line' beyond which Israel opposes the deployment of Syrian, Iraqi, Arab and Palestinian guerrilla units. The authoritative view here is that they must stay at least 10 miles from the Israeli frontier."

Referring to regional peace, Mr. Allon said it was "the status of the Syrian Army in Lebanon and to the condition of pro-Israeli elements there" is presumably right-wing Christian Lebanese and their allies.

Mr. Allon put considerable stress on the value of the Geneva conference as an instrument for Middle East peace-making. He contended that its importance lies not only in the "unprecedented" forum for Israeli-Arab negotiations but also in the opportunity created for bilateral sessions between Israel and the participating Arab states (Egypt, Syria, and Jordan).



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Soviet Union

Détente and Carter: six decisions may be felt worldwide

By David K. Willis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Six major areas in United States dealings with the Soviet Union call for decisions by President-Elect Jimmy Carter in the first few months of his administration.

The areas are:

- Limiting strategic arms.
- Human freedoms.
- Southern Africa.
- The Middle East.
- Trade.
- Reduction of forces in Central Europe.

How Mr. Carter makes those decisions could decide the direction and the tempo of his entire foreign policy. Certainly they will determine whether the strained state of détente will improve or grow worse.

In recent days Soviet officials have told American visitors that Moscow will not try to lead Mr. Carter quickly, as former Soviet leader Nikita S. Khrushchev tested newly elected John F. Kennedy over Berlin and Cuba in the early 1960s.

But the potential for friction remains high in these crucial areas:

• Limiting strategic arms — Getting a workable agreement on limiting offensive strategic arms is central to future U.S.-Soviet ties. If Mr. Carter (or Mr. Ford before the inauguration Jan. 20) can get one, the door would be open for a general thaw between Washington and Moscow. If no new agreement is obtained before the first strategic arms limitation (SALT) agreement expires in October of

next year, détente could be set back severely across the board.

The two remaining obstacles to a new agreement are the U.S. pilotless, superaccurate, long-range, low-flying cruise missiles, which can be fired from aircraft or submarines, and the Soviet Backfire bomber, which the Soviets say is of medium range.

Mr. Carter must decide (1) whether to countermand Pentagon pressure and accept limits on the cruises in return for limits on the Backfire, (2) whether to insist that the cruises be exempt, (3) whether to propose to Moscow that both cruises and Backfires be omitted from a new agreement but discussed later.

The new President will find his own State Department arguing strongly for limits on the cruises. The Soviets have told Westerners lately that they would not accept agreement without cruise limits. Nor would they accept one other Carter option: to ask for an extension on the current treaty to allow for more talks. Soviet officials say they would take this to mean that the U.S. was using the delay to develop its own missiles and cruises more fully.

This attitude may be simply a bargaining point to try to push Mr. Carter into an early decision.

• Human freedoms — Mr. Carter must decide quickly how hard to press Moscow to comply more fully with the final act of the 1975 Helsinki conference on security and cooperation in Europe. This act, among other things, committed the Soviet Union to make easier "freer movement and contacts" between East and West, to ensure "acceptable" fees for travel documents, to "deal in a positive and

humanitarian spirit" with requests for exit visas to reunite families and to permit marriages.

Mr. Carter in his campaign spoke forcefully of a need for Moscow to live up to these commitments. Western nations generally say Moscow has failed to comply in a number of ways. The Soviet Government, very sensitive on the issue, insists repeatedly that it has complied and that criticism is unwarranted and hostile.

Mr. Carter must decide (1) whether to signal Moscow soon that he intends to keep applying pressure and if so, how much. Too much might risk Soviet ire in this and other areas. (2) How to proceed at the coming meeting in Belgrade in June that will review the Helsinki documents. If he intends to maintain pressure, observers say he would be wise to let Moscow know soon. Then Moscow can plot its own course rather than ending up in a public donnybrook in Belgrade.

• Southern Africa, the Mideast — recent months have been bleak for the Soviets in both these foreign policy hot spots. But they are trying to regain lost ground.

Mr. Carter needs to decide (1) what to do about Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger's initiative on Rhodesia if the Geneva conference fails, (2) what to do about the huge territory of Namibia (South-West Africa) which Dr. Kissinger has been less successful, (3) how to handle Angola now that Washington has deferred to the black Africans and abstained from vetoing Angolan membership in the United Nations, and (4) whether to continue leaning on Israel in the Mideast, to conduct step-by-step diplomacy, or to move to a general Geneva conference that could give the So-

viets new diplomatic opportunities.

• Trade — Mr. Carter has to decide whether to ask Congress to ease restrictions on trade legislation and thus allow U.S. goods to begin a new lease on life.

Although U.S. exports jumped dramatically in the first nine months of this year, the rest was mainly grain sales to offset the poor Soviet harvest of last year. This year the harvest is good.

Moscow now is denied U.S. Government credit through the Export-Import Bank of more than \$300 million every four years. Commercial rates are high. Moscow has been turning to Western Europe and Japan. And while the Soviets try to sell to the U.S., they also cannot compete or they run into tariffs of up to 25 percent on some items (because most favored-nation treatment, giving access to low tariffs, is still withheld.)

This does not affect Soviet exports of raw materials such as chrome and platinum (which the tariff is zero), but Moscow sees discrimination since most other countries have long had access to lower tariffs.

Mr. Carter must determine whether to please the Soviets by cutting the link between trade and Jewish emigration from this country — or whether to keep on trying to use trade as a lever to let Jews out.

• Reducing forces in Central Europe — Mr. Carter needs to decide whether to try to rein the long-stalled Vienna talks on lowering NATO and Warsaw Pact forces in central Europe.

The NATO position is that the Soviets must reduce more than the West because they have more forces and shorter supply lines.

United States

Great expectations: can Carter satisfy them — quickly?

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Jimmy Carter now is running against himself — against his promises and his capacity to fulfill them.

Democratic leaders representing all regions across the United States are generally expectant that the President-Elect, as he promised, will move the country forward — but they think that, realistically, he will need a year or so to bring about any substantial changes.

At the same time, these leaders are telling the Monitor that many rank-and-file Democrats — particularly the blacks and jobless, but also teachers, college students, farmers, the elderly, and blue-collar workers — will be giving Mr. Carter a much shorter honeymoon period.

Said one Democratic national committeewoman in the East, reflecting a view that was expressed widely:

"Carter stirred up the expectations of a lot of people who will be wanting action almost immediately. 'I'll be giving Carter a year to show some meaningful movement — but many who voted for him will be giving him a short honeymoon, perhaps no more than 100 days. Then if they haven't seen him start to deliver his promises, some disillusionment will begin to set in.'"

The top-priority expectation, from Democratic leaders and Democrats generally, is that Carter will set up some sort of job program to relieve unemployment immediately after taking over in January.

At the same time, these same Democrats are looking to Mr.

Carter to move fast to reorganize the executive branch and to bring about tax relief, particularly for those in the lower- and lower-middle-income brackets.

But Monitor samplings of opinion, from Democratic leaders who themselves are conversant with the views of Democrats in their home areas, indicate that expectations are high for President-Elect Carter doing all the following which he has promised — and for doing it fairly fast:

• Stimulating the economy, while at the same time cutting inflation.

• Providing a national health program, a job program, and more money for education, conservation, and energy self-sufficiency while, at the same time, moving toward a balancing of the budget by the end of Carter's first term.

• Cutting big slices of fat from defense spending while still keeping a strong defense posture.

• Bringing about tax reform that will lower taxes for the vast majority of Americans while at the same time providing more funds for government programs.

Said a leader from the Midwest: "I think that Carter is going to be very good for this country, but he must have time to get the job done."

Checks among Democratic leaders in Congress have indicated that the "realities" are such that Mr. Carter in his early months as president, will be able to:

1. Cut taxes.
2. Bring about some reorganization in the executive branch — but that this can only be meaningful if there is a correlative and simultaneous reorganization of Congress.

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United States



Cold, but still no snow to discourage Boston runner

By Barth J. Falkenberg, staff photographer

Agents trail gunrunners

By Robert M. Press
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Chicago
Except for having more than a dozen handguns in their car, the two Chicago men might have been just another pair of out-of-state visitors to the coastal town in Mississippi.

But as they started home, federal agents, acting on a tip, began following them. When the two men arrived here, they were arrested and soon are to go to trial on charges of violating the federal law against transporting firearms across state lines without a license.

The arrests were part of what may become a nationwide, federal effort to curb "gun-running" — an old practice in the U.S. — by locating and trying to "dry up" out-of-state sources of some of the handguns being used in urban crime.

Firearms are purchased in states not having tight gun-control laws for illegal, profitable resale elsewhere to convicted felons or others not eligible for gun ownership under local or federal laws.

Within recent months, some 180 additional agents of the Treasury Department's Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF) working in Chicago, Washington, and Boston have uncovered:

- "Mississippi connection" and an "Arkansas connection" which may account for about 16 percent of the handguns confiscated by police in connection with crimes in Chicago. Agents estimate that up to half the handguns used in crime here appear to be coming from outside the state.

- A "gun avenue" running from South-eastern states to Washington, D.C., along which a significant number of handguns are being smuggled.

"We are convinced the guns we trace represent only part of a larger number," says one of the key agents of the Treasury's new Concentrated Urban Enforcement program (CUE).

The Treasury agent admits it is not known if gunrunning is increasing or not. His aim: to slow down the flow of guns and make arrests.

So far the project has not helped Chicago police in their gun law violation prosecutions, says the First Deputy Superintendent Michael A. Spiotto, but he hopes CUE activities will focus attention on the need for tighter gun-control laws elsewhere.

A Chicago ordinance prohibits purchase of a handgun without special permission, but this has little effect, because surrounding suburbs and other states do not have such a law, Mr. Spiotto said in an interview.

Instead of working in three cities, the agents should focus on one — probably Washington — and concentrate on making arrests, says Frank Zimring, co-director of the University of Chicago Center for Studies of Criminal Justice, who is studying the project.

Gunrunning spotted so far often involves "down homers," Northerners who buy guns from family and friends in a Southern state, says James Welch, special agent in charge of the ATF in this area. Guns purchased for \$25 to \$30 are sold for \$75 to \$100 here as a "hot item" on the street, he explains.

Under the federal Gun Control Act of 1968, interstate sale of firearms, except by licensed dealers, is prohibited. Gun buyers must sign a certificate that they are not a convicted felon, illegal alien, dishonorably discharged veteran, or mentally incompetent.

When police in one of the three test cities confiscate a gun — Chicago police pick up about 20,000 a year — Treasury agents try to trace it back to buyers through dealers.

U.S. wants no know-how row

By Robert C. Cowen
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

To what extent should the technology which provides the brightest jewels in the United States industrial treasure trove be shared with industrially poor nations?

Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger sees this as one of the major foreign-policy challenges the United States now faces. That is why he called an unprecedented meeting of American technologists to discuss it.

Developing nations are demanding access to Western technology, especially American technology, freely, without even payment of license fees, as a basic human right. Dr. Kissinger sees little hope of stability in relations with those third-world nations until this issue is settled.

He also realizes that technology is not the property of the U.S. Government to bestow. It belongs legally to the patent holders and businesses of America, and morally to the workers whose jobs depend on those patents. To judge from the recent conference the real owners of America's technology are not eager to give it away.

The meeting started a long process of preparing for a major UN conference on science and technology for development two years hence, and for a U.S. national conference next October that will try to pull together the American response to third-world demands.

To about 1,000 corporate executives, patent experts, union officials, and university researchers, Mr. Kissinger explained his concern for what he called "a subject that has proved most obdurate for us to deal with."

Any secretary of state, he explained, must be concerned with preserving world order. And the fundamental problem he sees is how to create an international system in which all participants feel they belong. That means a sys-

tem in which developing countries feel they can tap the technology which they perceive as the fount of American well-being. And that in turn means a system in which U.S. industry and those countries can work together for mutual benefit rather than stare hostilely at each other.

An overview emerged at the session: Basic misconceptions must be overcome. American technology cannot merely be handed over like a sack of wheat. It doesn't exist in a vacuum. It is part of a national way of life that has evolved over two centuries. A steel mill, an auto factory, a computer assembly plant all depend on a specifically American mix of skills, education, supporting industries, communications, and financial institutions.

For a developing country to adopt even a small piece of American technology is like a family adopting a teen-age foreign child. But the American industrialists involved and the host country officials must work long and hard to integrate the foreigner. It would be futile to try to provide an American-like environment for technology in, say, Egypt, when what is needed is to evolve an Egyptian environment in which foreign technology can adapt to meet Egyptian needs.

Also, developing countries must deal directly with American industry which owns the technology. They cannot go through the U.S. Government which, Mr. Kissinger noted, they would like to do.

And William W. Wimpisinger, general vice president of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, warned that American labor will not tolerate a giveaway of technology on which their jobs depend.

Significantly, however, all who spoke at the conference echoed Mr. Kissinger that this "enduring issue" must be resolved, for the alternative to effective cooperation would be a world in which the American way of life became increasingly irrelevant to the bulk of mankind.

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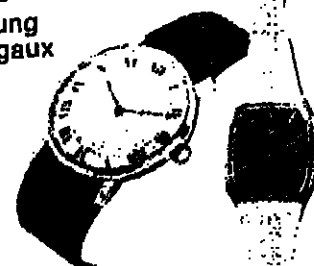
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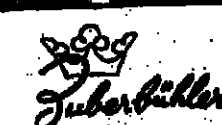
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Emlyn Williams conjures up Dylan Thomas

Welsh actor brings
aura of Welsh bard
alive on stage

By Louise Sweeney

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor



By R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer

Emlyn Williams in Washington, D.C.

The stage seems nearly bare at first — just a Chinese Chippendale chair, a pumpkin-colored rug, and a compact man with a crest of silver hair.

Then Emlyn Williams begins to speak about "Dylan Thomas Growing Up," and the stage suddenly fills with furniture, houses, moonlight, and people — a whole village, sauced with talk, this Welshman conjures up.

Emlyn Williams is a one-man band in a gray suit, an actor-writer who has received rave reviews for what he modestly calls "an entertainment" devised from the stories of Welsh bard Dylan Thomas. He holds the audience in the palm of his very steady hand from the moment he ambles on stage, every inch the schoolmaster with a lot of blatted copybooks under one arm, one of which happens to belong to "the common boy with the uncommon name," Dylan Thomas.

"Dylan Thomas is any child growing up anywhere," he says, explaining the show's appeal to both English and American audiences. So real is his Dylan Thomas that the wonder of it is that Mr. Williams put him together like a picture puzzle from Thomas's own words.

Mr. Williams, 47, has a long list of credits. He started doing the short stories of his, it was a charity concert. He gave, Richard Burton, and I, Edith Evans, lots of Welsh people. We did all sorts of things, including "Under Milkwood," excerpts from that, to help the family, they were absolutely penniless (after Thomas's passing). And that gave me the idea of working on the whole evening.

Voice appealing

Mr. Williams, who has a voice like velvet bells pealing, loves the words he speaks and speaks the words he loves on stage. In this and his other one-man show, on Charles Dickens, he has chosen, as a writer himself, the two writers who are his heroes and translated their words into theater with his own bridges and adaptations.

He reached on words, this man who wrote

two autobiographies, both titled "George Emlyn," a study of the "moors" murders titled "Beyond Belief," and several plays including "The Corn Is Green" and "Night Must Fall." It was part of growing up Welsh, being bilingual, learning first the lit of nothing but Welsh as a child, then English at school, then French, with the remarkable woman teacher who was the model for "The Corn Is Green" schoolmistress, played by Bette Davis on film and Ethel Bartymore on stage.

"Words have absolutely dominated my life," says Mr. Williams. "The thing of Welsh being a language of its own is tremendously powerful. When I hear certain Welsh words, my childhood comes right back to me — Have you washed your hands? Are you hungry? Is it raining? Suddenly you hear the words, on the radio, and the whole thing comes back to you."

Hidden expresser

But he did not always want to be a writer. "Being an introverted child, I wanted to express myself. And I supposed the way to do it was to go out and get onto the stage and hide

it, sometimes I think better than I did later, professionally (at Stratford-on-Avon). Oh, yes, I always knew that I wanted to be an actor. I used to go to silent films, you see, and used to want to talk, used to imagine what they were saying to each other," says the man who later starred in such films as "The Stars Look Down" and "Major Barbara."

George Emlyn Williams, son of a Welsh grocer and minor and transatlantic stoker and finally ironworker, got his first boost in life from the schoolmistress who sent him to France at 15 to study the language and helped him get a scholarship to Oxford. At Oxford, he promptly "disappeared," went into the theater, started writing plays. It was an actress he married, Molly O'Sullivan, who gave him two sons: The younger, Brook, is Richard Burton's personal manager. "He just went out to Canada to do

"Equus," the film"). The older, Alan, is a novelist, author of "The Beria Papers," and a new book on the Shah of Iran.

The fluent Mr. Williams is also working on his own writing even as he acts. He sits in the Alexandria, Virginia, apartment he has rented for the course of his Washington run and talks about the other things that are bubbling in his life. He is a quiet, self-effacing man with deep-blue eyes and an almost professional reticence that's a surprise in an actor.

Questions are anticipated. He wears a short-sleeved blue cotton shirt, rust-colored pants, and mirror-shined black shoes with Gucci buckles. On the couch beside him is a Shakespearean book Sir John Gielgud gave him.

In fact, he is at work on a musical called "Spring," taken from his own play "Spring 1960," which Sir John directed years ago. Mr. Williams is writing both the book and lyrics for "Spring," a romance "about a girl who runs away from home and dresses up as a boy and plays Viola in 'Twelfth Night.'"

In addition, Mr. Williams has also put together "a short evening based on the short stories of Saki," like a review without music, "for a quartet of actors. Then there's the 'Long Piece in a Short Book,' he is doing for the Reader's Digest book division. "It's about Scotland Yard, real-life cases."

Emlyn Williams, asked to describe himself, says, "Tolerant, I hope, cheerful. They're all compliments, aren't they? And I think limited, really. I am limited, there are lots of things I simply don't understand about life, things I can't appreciate in art and literature, that seem to me obscure and pretentious, which my common sense tells me are not, because I know people who admire them tremendously. But I can't like dissonant music," says the man who admires Muzak and Tchaikovsky. "I love classical painting, Turner, van Gogh, and Cezanne, things like that, Constable. Tremendously conventional taste."

Father and son build new, safe 'Hindenburg'

By Dale Van Atta
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

From the state that brought the U.S. its land artificial ocean — "Big Sur" at Trestle and the rebuilt London Bridge, now construction of the first American rigid airship since 1937.

Some 17 miles southeast of Phoenix, the son team is piecing together the aluminum superstructure of a 225-foot-long dirigible that they hope to have in the air within years. Fifty feet in diameter, and weighing about the same as two full-sized automobiles, the airship is designed to carry 30 passengers and travel up to 90 miles per hour. Says the son team, "It's a potential boost to our economy — much more than a blue-sky possibility."

Mr. Conrad, the senior member of the team, reminds one of a university professor. He always been intrigued with dirigibles, dabbled their shapes on paper during his years, and studied the history of airship high school. The German Graf Zeppelin, a 900-foot-dirigible, especially captured his imagination when it toured the world in 21 days, making only three stops along the way.

During the last decade, the commercial possibilities of airships have continued to attract him. Mr. Conrad points out that they can take off vertically, hover for long periods, are immune to pollutants, conserve on energy, and are much quieter than conventional aircraft. What's more, lighter-than-air craft can lift and haul hundreds of tons.

When Mr. Conrad moved from his home in Washington, to Arizona four years ago, he followed, followed, enrolling in class in space engineering at Arizona State University. There he was able to use the school's computers to help design the dirigible.

Construction of the 225-foot ship began in March, 1974, when the father-son team started an electrical contracting business, installing private homes and businesses to use the dirigible will cost more than \$250,000.

The Conrad craft will be a "rigid" airship, with aluminum fabric skin stretched over an extensive, inner aluminum superstructure. The CA220 (Conrad Airship, 220 feet), will be built by 10 helium-filled gas cells within the frame, and powered by two V-8 engines mounted at the rear of each side.

Two features make the Conrad airship a safer prospect than earlier airships, like the German Hindenburg. The aluminum superstructure of the CA220 is stronger, and advanced metallurgy technology, many of the problems of the 1930s airships are expected to be overcome. Helium will be used to float the CA220, and although this gas has only one-tenth the lifting power of an equal volume of hydrogen (which filled the Hindenburg), it is nonflammable.

Anticipated practical uses of the Conrad airship range from police surveillance to transport of cargo and passengers. As a luxury liner, a modern zeppelin also would offer an expensive mode of travel. With a crew of four, the dirigible could carry passengers from Phoenix to Los Angeles for about \$100 each in 2½ hours. It also could be used as a flying laboratory, as an aerial survey ship for viewing the earth, or by scientists for geological surveying.

The Conrad's goal is to eventually construct a super-dirigible 700 feet long that could fly 1,000 passengers across the U.S. in 24 hours for the same price as a bus ticket.

Meanwhile, the father-son team has stepped up work on a smaller, flying-vehicle-like, rigid-frame airship. They are working to have the 27-foot-high sphere in the air in two months. Some 80 feet in diameter, the airship will carry six to eight passengers, as compared to the Goodyear blimp's five-passenger limit. "I hope to excite interest in lighter-than-air ships and get some financing help by proving this one can fly — and fly well," says Mr. Conrad.

travel/fashion

High fashion from the bird watchers

By Phyllis Feldkamp
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

New York

Bird watchers, canoeists, and other outdoor sports enthusiasts will be startled to hear it, but the kind of clothes they customarily wear when communing with nature or parachute jumping from planes is now the height of fashion.

For, deserting the Army-Navy surplus stores, young trend-setting types are now beating a trail to the sporting-goods stores.

Their move in the direction of rugged, weatherproof clothing that insulates against the elements has not gone unperceived by the fashion industry. When a sleeping bag turns up in a Seventh Avenue fall collection in the form of an evening wrap (as it did at Scott Barrie), you may be sure that the camping and tramping look has arrived.

Tagged by fashion pros as "Survival Gear," durable turt, field, stream, and air and seagull attire was adopted last winter by young city folk who saw it as the ideal protective coloration against the vicissitudes of present-day urban life. After all, a quilted down-filled nylon windbreaker of the sort favored by seasoned sportsmen and women provides anonymity as well as weightless warmth.

Whether it is becoming or not is of secondary importance. "Life today does not need to be ornamented. These clothes are for living," explains French ready-to-wear designer Jean-Charles de Castelbajac, leading exponent of no-nonsense utilitarianism, whose practical approach will be heavily promoted for fall by New York's two most venturesome retailers — Henri Bendel and Bloomingdale's.

Castelbajac came out strongly for colorful hard-wearing clothes at his fall opening in Paris where the musical background was supplied by members of a rock group, dressed in space suits and white lab coats. His astronaut flight suit of metallic silver-coated nylon and his puffy bird patchwork jackets have been heralded as giant steps forward in functional fashion.

In America, less uncompromising designers are taking the styling of athletic apparel and giving it the luxury treatment. Bert and Corinne Pulitzer, who are themselves active sports addicts, are featuring his-and-her city sweat-shirts of suede and leather with ribbed wool collars and drawstring waists. The Pulitzers also do city/country outerwear in "Survivalon," a lightweight poplin that is silicone treated for temperature control.

If many of the new fall warm-up pants, parkas, and white-water vests look like they are straight out of an L.L. Bean or an Abercrombie & Fitch catalog, the resemblance is intentional. D-rings, canvas webbing straps fold-up drawstring hoods, and multitudes of bellows pockets are among the many authentic details currently being appropriated by designers from the life-style of the great outdoors.

Fabrics like rip-stop nylon, that were heretofore associated with the backpack set and originally developed as tough enough to withstand briars and brambles, are now judged to have merit for the subway crush and other physical endurance tests of metropolitan life.

So count game-warden green and high-visibility orange in, as first-rank fall fashion colors. And if you want to wear them, along with the rest of the latest survival gear, all you really have to do is: make tracks for the nearest sporting-goods emporium.



Sweatshirts in leather with knit collars

New cruise ship tailored for the mink-coat-over-blue-jeans set

By David Butwin

Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

There is a new ship afloat, the MS Azur, that speaks to a long-neglected audience: lively, sports-loving, youthful (if not necessarily young) passengers who like to leave neckties and evening gowns at home when they travel, and who would rather explore an island port by bicycle than haunt duty-free shops, and who frankly cannot or will not pay the price of most cruises.

In its maiden season, the Azur has been cruising in the Mediterranean, attracting mostly French customers while beginning to woo Americans, Canadians, and others. It is, after all, a French ship (owned by Paquet Cruises) with French crew, French food, and — the company hopes — French chic. A Paquet executive has said he expects the Azur to draw a mink-coat-over-blue-jeans clientele.

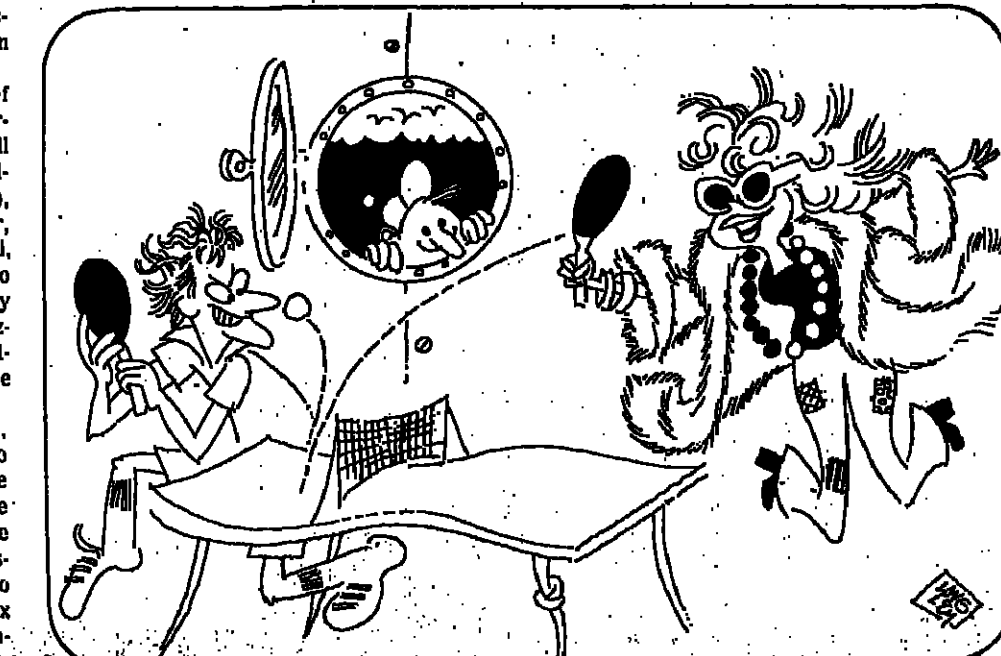
Though I did not spot any minks on an introductory cruise last spring, jeans were much in evidence, ties were almost totally shunned (except for the captain's dinner), and tuxedos were nonexistent. Still, the denim look tailored, the perfume smelled expensive, and Pucci, Cardin, and Louis Vuitton were well represented. In other words, the Azur, while stressing informality and a general laissez-faire deportment, is not going after backpackers and other youthful vagabonds. For one thing, the price of a ticket is not so low as to fetch budget-conscious travelers. Daily rates for one- and two-week cruises average about \$75 —

perhaps \$25 a day beneath conventional cruising fares, but a substantial enough figure when you add on air and ground arrangements.

Paquet's home port is Toulon, a chief French naval station between Nice and Marseilles. Through 1978, at least, the Azur will launch all its cruises out of Toulon, sailing typically on two-week voyages: Palermo (Sicily), Valetta (Malta), Piraeus (Athens), Izmir, Rhodes, Alexandria, Haifa, Syracuse, Capri, and back to Toulon. Passengers will be able to book one-week segments of the overall 13-day voyages by boarding at Piraeus, taking in Izmir, Rhodes, Alexandria, and Haifa, and getting off at Piraeus before the ship heads home to Toulon.

How can the Paris-based Paquet company, which operates two conventionally sleek cruise ships, the Renaissance and Mermoz, manage to cut \$25 a day from normal rates to run the Azur? First, the Azur is smaller and therefore cheaper to operate. It is 485 feet long and displaces 11,000 tons — a midsize in comparison to the Queen Elizabeth 2, which weighs almost six times as much. And its crew is skeletal compared to those of its sister ships. On the Azur, a waiter, cabin steward, on deck steward is always at your elbow; on the Azur it's as if the crew has the day off, though somehow the beds are made and the food is served.

Paquet also economizes by not stuffing its 500-odd passengers with back-to-back meals. Breakfast is a modest buffet — juice, sliced ham, cheese, bread, milk, and coffee. No got-conscious travelers. Daily rates for one- and two-week cruises average about \$75 —



no eggs benedict. Lunch can be eaten in the main dining room, but most passengers choose to partake of the poolside buffet. Dinner is usually a fixed menu, though you can have a choice by eating in the deluxe grill, an intimate dining area set aside for the 60 or so passengers who pay for the most expensive cabins. Dessert is a highlight of every meal, thanks to the wizardry of Jacques Lopez, the pastry chef, who formerly worked on the France.

Unlike most cruise ships, the Azur does not lay out a midnight snorgastord — which may be an economy measure but probably benefits passengers in the long run.

Unless you take one of the few deluxe rooms and pay accordingly (close to \$100 a day), you will get a small cabin with narrow beds and tiny bathroom. The Azur, after all, was a comfortable car-ferry in an earlier life. Launched in the early 1970s as the P&O Eagle, it carried passengers and their autos between England and Spain. For \$18 million Paquet bought the Eagle, added some deluxe rooms, and turned the parking ramp into a floating gymnasium.

Now on the bottom deck there are a volleyball court, a ping pong table, and basketball hoops. Paquet speaks of installing a bowling alley and making room for an abbreviated tennis court.

The French volleyball fanatics that they are, will doubtless play at the sport until midnight, if the captain permits it. There is also a fleet of bicycles down below so passengers can pedal ashore through the onetime car-ferry portals, then see the port cities on two wheels. What better way to go? And what better time of year than spring or fall, when the heat and tourist droves have lessened? Fares are cheaper then, too, and local people are once again in the majority.

Whatever the season and whatever the port, the Azur staff nearly always puts on a beachfront barbecue — which beats trekking back to the ship for lunch. Just so the sportive types don't grow bored after eating, a volleyball net is installed on the beach. And if those who balked to the beach are too weary to pedal back, they may be able to convince the bus driver to ferry the bicycles in the luggage hold.

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arts/education

'Macbeth' on the road

By Susan Morrison
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

London
A powerful and uncompromising production of *Macbeth*, directed by Peter Coe, has recently been staged at the Yvonne Arnaud Theatre, Guildford, Surrey, and is now touring Britain.

The setting is starkly medieval and there is no hint of opulence or kingly splendor to detract from the grim, inevitable action that results so naturally from the meaning and cadence of the language. For this reason alone, I rate this production high. The power and poetry of the words can be felt and recognized as the vehicle for conveying ideas and feelings: the forces that control and impel. This is quite an achievement considering that many of the lines are so well known as to be almost too familiar, since this play is a popular examination "set book." In fact it was noticeable that the young audience, comprised mainly of school children, was quickly caught by the sustained tension of this production.

The part of the three witches is given considerable prominence. They are the continuous thread that holds the fast-moving series of events in a tightly-woven pattern, and eventually one wonders if they are not also an ultimate controlling force. Before their first meeting with Macbeth, the magic symbols traced on the ground bind the characters into the roles they must follow. But in a puzzling, almost disturbing, way this is not a pagan interpretation of the play.

Perhaps it is too fanciful to associate the three looming wooden structures at the back of the stage with Golgotha — but the immediate impact is of three gibbets, with the middle one taller than the others. They are used effectively for many purposes. But the fact that they are there, permanently, helps to illustrate the inherent moral elements of this play. Certainly the two leading characters, skillfully played by Paul Daneman and Dorothy Tutin, show the subtle and inexorable degradation and self-destruction that are the inevitable outcome of rampant, unnatural ambition.

Not only are these two actors highly intelligent and utterly believable, but their use of the language allows the imagery and rhythm of the poetry to speak for itself. They are well supported by the rest of the cast who ably suit the economy and restraint of this production: for it is a restrained performance despite the fact that on one occasion the murdered victims are carried onstage and two murders are actually shown.

Perhaps my feelings about this are best summed up by the extraordinary fight between Macbeth and Macduff which suddenly switches to the dream-like movements of a slow-motion film. One could see, through this balletic fight, the inward, uncontrolled ambition and violence, that unchecked and unopposed, has flouted natural law and order and led to Macbeth's destruction.

Tools for handicapped

Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Jackson, Mississippi
Last spring, a special pilot project involving the use of photographic media by the mentally handicapped was launched at the Belleville State School in Mississippi.

Priorities of this project have been to identify the types of media production best suited for education and therapy for the mentally handicapped, to train teachers in these various techniques, and to allow as much creative use of the media as possible by the students themselves.

The teachers involved agree that the unique quality of immediate feedback inherent in photographic systems such as Polaroid cameras and video tape recordings, provide the retarded with new tools for dynamic forms of creativity and communication.



By Ralph Steiner

Laundry in Maine mirrors sculpture in Greece

Seeing art all around

By Cynthia Parsons
Education editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

Thetford Hill, Vermont
Ralph Steiner is an extraordinary photographer. His "laundry" hangs beside this story. When his "laundry" isn't here, it's in a film. An exquisite film.

The film opens with shots of a pre-Victorian summer resort in Maine. It shows what the guests generally view, then moves to the back of the hotel to the laundry lines. Here, photographer Steiner finds the sheets — their grace and movement — something special, and by juxtaposing Greek sculpture with flowing, billowing, and jousting laundry teaches the viewer to see anew.



By Carol Aublin

Students at the Belleville, Mississippi State School had their first opportunity to work with professional photographers last spring. This is the output of one of the school's special education students.

And this is Mr. Steiner's aim, to teach us all to see, really see. He wrote in a recent letter: "Could you say (in your own words) in your place that just as religion is not something for Sunday, art appreciation — the joy of seeing — isn't for art museums."

I'm not sure I know how to say that better than he has. That is what this whole special section on the arts is trying to say. Whether the art is music, dance, drama, photography, painting, crafts, or whatever, it is not somehow separate from our everyday lives.

Photographer Steiner did not "arrange" the laundry and then photograph it; he did not drape a department-store mannequin to get a complementary effect. No, he saw and appreciated the art in the laundry. In the wind, in the sky, in the shadows on the rolling lawn, even in the soldierly clothes pins.

And he would, if he could, teach us all to see anew — to see art everywhere.

In another film, screened in the back room of his century-old farmhouse, he has repeated (he claims exactly) the same filmstrip several times. But with each showing, the music is radically different.

We learn, as we see water spouting from an irrigation device, that what we see is part of a larger whole. The water is soft, and splashes. When the music is martial and the drums roll, the water leaps from the spout and assails the parched earth.

Yet the picture has not changed, just our view has.

This film continues with symphonic background; now the spouting water is pulsing and majestic.

And for one repeated segment, there is no music at all, just a schoolteacher's voice beginning to tell viewers that "irrigation is very important to dry areas of the world. The water is pumped through pipes and forced out in such a way as to bring the earth its needed refreshment."

Suddenly, this voice stops and the water flows on without accompaniment. The viewer supplies his own music. And as Mr. Steiner affirmed, each viewer "hears" his own accompaniment. He hears, in a sense, what he wants to see.



"Sandal-binder" from the Nike Belvedere

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arts/books

In London and Paris: full-blooded drama

By Takashi Ika

London
The jewels in the crown of the London and Paris theater this season are two seldom-performed, four-hour plays. In the stunning fan-shaped Olivier Theater by the Thames, Albert Finney brings to baroque life Christopher Marlowe's "Tamburlaine the Great."

And in the graciously refurbished Salle Richelieu of the Theatre-Francaise, Claude Rich tackles the complex, enigmatic personality of Lorenzo de Medici, Renaissance hero of Alfred de Musset's play.

The two plays are quite different, in time and in space, except for perhaps this tenuous link: Christopher Marlowe, making his blood-and-thunder dramatization of a central Asian conqueror the vehicle for some of the most soaring flights of Elizabethan blank verse, was a contemporary of Shakespeare, while the 18th century Alfred de Musset modeled his play of corruption and assassination in Renaissance Florence on Shakespeare. Marlowe was 23 when "Tamburlaine" was first performed; Musset was also 23 when he wrote "Lorenzaccio."

It was rumored that "Tamburlaine" had used up all London's supply of artificial blood. Actually, the National Theatre makes its own imitation gore. But the rumor gives an idea of the violence depicted in this several-times-larger-than-life drama.

Albert Finney plays the role of "The Scourge of God" to athletic and declamatory perfection. He starts as a shepherd, leader of a gang of robbers. He ends as a world conqueror, his chariot pulled by enslaved kings, defiant but unable to resist the wasting illness within himself. "And Tamburlaine, The Scourge of God, must die."



Albert Finney as Tamburlaine

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Touch Not the Cat, by Mary Stewart. New York: Morrow. 336 pp. \$8.95. London: Hodder & Stoughton. £3.50.

Mary Stewart's mysteries may be trifles, but they are

entertaining, well-written trifles, with extraordinarily evocative backgrounds.

In "Touch Not the Cat" she writes of identical twins, a maze, a most, strange coats of arms and medieval records, in a once stately home of old England. Her story is full of romance in the old-fashioned sense and has more than a touch of the supernatural.

It also contains what must be the most confusing death-bed clue since Conan Doyle let one of his characters expire with the unhelpful cry, "speckled band" on his lips.

This is a story that won't teach you anything or offer you a single insight. But it is first-rate dreaming material, by a practiced master — or, must I say mistress?

P. M.

French/German

Les fermiers blancs : ils sont chez eux en Rhodésie

[Traduction d'un article paraissant à la page 2]

par June Goodwin
Correspondante des
Christian Science Monitors

Le téléphone était pendu à un arbre quand Tish et Phillip de la Fargue arrivèrent ici il y a 14 ans pour se construire une ferme là où il n'y avait eu que de la mauvaise herbe et des arbustes maussades.

Aujourd'hui, le téléphone peut être branché d'une prise à l'autre dans chacune des huttes rondes couvertes de chaume qui composent la maison.

Mais on doit encore actionner la manivelle pour contacter le central téléphonique, et huit maisons sont branchées sur la ligne. Car les de la Fargue vivent dans la brousse rhodésienne, avec environ 80 autres familles blanches et des milliers d'ouvriers africains ainsi que leurs familles. La ville elle-même, à deux heures de voiture au nord de Salisbury, n'existait pas avant 1953. Elle fut appelée Centenary lors du centième anniversaire de Cecil Rhodes, pionnier anglais en Afrique australe et fondateur de la Rhodésie.

C'est une bonne terre agricole, mais les Africains choisissent de vivre au bas de l'escarpement dans la vallée de Mzarabani, l'extrémité sud de la vallée du Grand Rift qui traverse l'Afrique orientale le long d'une ligne s'étendant vers le sud à partir de l'Éthiopie.

Mis à part l'arrosage « tout ce que nous devons faire c'est planter les graines et nous retirer », affirme M^{me} de la Fargue au sujet de son luxuriant jardin d'agrément.

Les blancs de Centenary sont quelques-uns des 8100 fermiers blancs de Rhodésie dont l'avenir est dans la balance avec le gouvernement noir qui s'achemine. Tous les fermiers d'ici se demandent si les conditions de vie seront différentes dans le Zimbabwe,

comme les noirs appellent leur pays. Ils se demandent si les fermiers blancs pourront rester.

Si les de la Fargue sont forcés de partir, qu'adviendra-t-il des 300 Africains, la plupart originaires du Malawi et du Mozambique, qui travaillent dans leur ferme?

De l'aveu général les conditions de vie des Africains sont pitoyables, mais la vie ici est un degré au-dessus de celle qu'ils avaient chez eux.

Le cuisinier de M^{me} de la Fargue — qui gagne \$28 par mois, plus le logement gratuit, l'instruction de ses sept enfants et les soins médicaux — est en train de se construire une nouvelle maison.

Le maître valet de ferme, que M. de la Fargue a formé pendant une période de 18 ans, a une instruction qui correspond à huit années de scolarité et gagne \$98 par mois, plus 1% sur le produit de la récolte.

Le maître valet de ferme pourrait diriger la ferme sauf pour ce qui concerne le côté commandes de l'affaire, d'après M. de la Fargue. Mais le maître valet de ferme n'aurait pas le capital nécessaire pour s'acheter la terre et n'aurait probablement pas l'autorisation de le faire parce qu'il est Malawi. Les de la Fargue ont placé \$30 000 dans leurs 800 hectares.

Comme leurs voisins ils ne veulent pas quitter la Rhodésie. Mais M. de la Fargue dit qu'ils partageraient les conditions de travail devenant trop difficiles et si sa famille était en danger! (Trois enfants adolescents sont en pension dans des écoles.)

Beaucoup d'étrangers considéreraient la famille comme déjà en danger. Depuis quatre ans les fermiers ont été sur le qui-vive ici, emportant leurs fusils avec eux où qu'ils aillent. Mais M^{me} de

la Fargue dit qu'ils ne se soucient pas beaucoup des alertes parce qu'ils y sont si habitués.

Centenary fut la région de Rhodésie où les attaques des guerilleros commencèrent le 21 décembre 1971. A cause des guerilleros, appelés terroristes par presque tous les blancs, la route venant de Salisbury fut goudronnée, un système de radio entre les fermes fut installé et une milice de défense civile fut instituée.

Peter Douglas, chef de la milice civile de Centenary, a donné récemment des conférences dans d'autres régions sur la façon de mobiliser le peuple pour conjurer les attaques. « Toute personne sensée savait depuis longtemps qu'il [le gouvernement des noirs] venait », a dit M. Douglas.

Mais les blancs l'écartèrent aussi longtemps qu'ils le purent. Maintenant les fermiers ne veulent pas partir, ne savent pas où aller s'ils doivent partir; mais dans leur appréhension, ils pensent à l'expérience d'Alec Paine. M. Paine est un fermier qui s'est installé à Centenary après avoir quitté la Zambie lorsque le gouvernement noir prit le pouvoir. Il partit après avoir conduit l'un de ses ouvriers à la police de Zambie pour être châtié et la police donna des coups de pied et tua cet homme sous ses yeux.

Centenary a les nerfs à vif. Plusieurs des voisins des de la Fargue ont été tués. John Elliot, qui dirige une ferme sur l'escarpement, a tué lui-même des Africains innocents pensant qu'ils étaient des guerilleros. « Je n'ai pas pu dormir pendant des nuits après cela », déclare-t-il.

Il y a beaucoup de bons travailleurs blancs à Centenary. Les de la Fargue se sont éclairés à la lampe à pétrole pendant sept ans et ils ont bâti leurs

maisons rondes couvertes de chaume pour la somme de \$360 seulement, utilisant des briques qu'ils fabriquaient avec l'argile des termitières. Ils sont plus informés que beaucoup d'autres fermiers. Ils lisent le London Sunday Telegraph, l'Economist (un hebdomadaire de Londres) et The Christian Science Monitor et ils écoutent la BBC.

Il y a aussi beaucoup de racisme à Centenary. « Les enfants de couleur (les métis) ont une existence tragique », déclare un blanc.

Malgré tout, on cherche à comprendre l'aveuglette. « Je sais que ce sont les paysans », dit M^{me} de la Fargue de ses ouvriers agricoles. « Je sais qu'il y a des intellectuels [parmi les Africains]. »

La question qui se pose en Rhodésie c'est comment vaincre le racisme, et bien dans ses formes modérées qui virulent sans retirer tous les blancs. Ici les fermiers insistent pour dire que la couleur du gouvernement leur importe peu pourvu qu'il soit responsable. Mais la définition de responsable peut précisément constituer le problème.

« J'aimerais me couvrir la tête pendant six ans et puis sortir pour voir ce qui se sera passé », dit M^{me} de la Fargue. « Je ne pense pas que nous serons encore ici. »

Entre temps, elle agit comme si elle allait rester. En tant que secrétaire du gardien club local (il y a peu d'activités sociales à Centenary), M^{me} de la Fargue a sermonné vertement les membres du club dans sa dernière lettre. Elle a suggéré que les fermes devraient continuer à planter leurs noyers comme cela », déclare-t-elle.

Autrement on cesse de vivre pleinement et courageusement, donne-t-elle à entendre.

Weisse Farmer: Ihre Heimat ist Rhodesien

[Dieser Artikel erscheint auf Seite 2.]

Von June Goodwin
Korrespondentin des
Christian Science Monitors

Centenary, Rhodesien
Das Telefon wurde an einen Baum gehängt, als Tish und Phillip de la Fargue vor 14 Jahren hier ankamen, um dem Land eine Farm abzugewinnen, wo nur wildes Gras und Maasa-Bäume wuchsen.

Heute kann das Telefon an die verschiedenen Stockdosen in jeder der runden, mit Stroh bedeckten Hütten, die das Haus ausmachen, angeschlossen werden.

Aber man muß noch immer kurbeln, um die Telefonzentrale zu erreichen, und acht Familien haben einen Gemeinschaftsanschluss. Die de la Fargues leben nämlich im rhodesischen Busch, zusammen mit etwa 80 anderen weißen Familien und Tausenden von afrikanischen Arbeitern und deren Familien. Die Stadt selbst, die zwei Stunden Fahrzeit nördlich von Salisbury liegt, existierte vor 1953 noch nicht. Sie erhielt ihren Namen anlässlich des 100. Geburtstages Cecil Rhodes', des britischen Pioniers im südlichen Afrika und Gründers von Rhodesien.

Dies ist gutes Ackerland, aber die Afrikaner zogen es vor, unten im Mzarabani-Tal zu leben, der südlichen Spitze der großen Senke, die das östliche Afrika einer Linie entlang durchschneidet, die von Äthiopien in südlicher Richtung verläuft.

Bei etwa 1000 Bewässerungsbächen wie lediglich den Samen zu säen und dann zur Seite zu springen, sagt Frau de la Fargue über ihren üppigen Blumengarten.

Die weißen in Centenary zählen zu den 8100 weißen Farmern in Rhodesien, deren Zukunft in der Waagschale liegt, da der Übergang zu einer schwarzen Regierung bevorsteht. Alle Farmer hier fragen sich, ob sich die Verhältnisse in Zimbabwe, wie die

Schwarzen ihr Land nennen, ändern werden. Sie fragen sich, ob die weißen Farmer werden bleiben können.

Wenn die de la Fargues gezwungen werden, das Land zu verlassen, was wird dann mit den 800 Afrikanern geschehen, die fast alle aus Malawi und Mozambique kommen und auf ihrer Farm arbeiten?

Die Afrikaner leben zwar in ärmlichen Verhältnissen, doch ist das Leben hier ein Schritt vorwärts im Vergleich zu dem, was sie in ihrer Heimat hatten.

Fratt de la Fargues Koch — er verdient 70 Mark im Monat, plus kostenlose Unterkunft, unentgeltliche Schulbildung für seine sieben Kinder und ärztliche Betreuung — baut sich ein neues Haus.

Der Hauptaufseher, den de la Fargue 18 Jahre lang beschäftigt hat, ging bis zur achten Klasse in die Schule; er verdient 250 Mark im Monat und erhält außerdem ein Prozent des Ertrages.

Die de la Fargues haben auch einen Sohn, der in der Armee dient, und eine Tochter, die in der Verwaltung arbeitet. Die de la Fargues haben 300.000 Mark in ihren 800 Hektar investiert.

Wie ihre Nachbarn wollen auch sie Rhodesien nicht verlassen. Aber Phillip de la Fargue erklärt, daß er gehen würde, falls die Arbeitsverhältnisse zu schwierig würden oder die Sicherheit seiner Familie bedroht wäre. (Drei Teenager sind in Internaten.)

Viele Außenstehende würden sagen, daß seine Familie bereits in Gefahr lebt. Seit vier Jahren stehen die Farmer hier in Bereitschaft. Wo immer sie sich hingehen, nehmen sie ihr Gewehr mit. Aber Frau de la Fargue meint, sie lassen

sich durch diese Vorsichtsmaßnahmen nicht aus der Ruhe bringen, weil sie an sie gewöhnt seien.

Centenary war das Gebiet in Rhodesien, wo am 21. Dezember 1971 die Guerilla-Angriffe begannen. Wegen der Guerillas, die von beinahe allen Weißen Terroristen genannt werden, wurde die Straße nach Salisbury asphaltiert, eine Funkverbindung zwischen den Farmen eingebaut und ein Zivilschutz eingerichtet.

Peter Douglas, der Kommandant des Zivilschutzes in Centenary, hat kürzlich in anderen Gebieten Vorträge gehalten, wie die Bevölkerung mobil gemacht werden kann, um mit Überfällen fertig zu werden. « Jeder denkende Mensch wußte schon lange, daß es [die schwarze Herrschaft] kommen würde », sagte Douglas.

Aber die Weißen haben es abgewendet, solange sie konnten. Nun möchten die Farmer das Land nicht verlassen, sie wissen nicht, wo sie hingehen sollten, wenn sie gehen müssen. Aber in ihrer Besorgnis denken sie daran, was Alec Paine erlebte. Paine ist ein Farmer, der von Simbabwe wegzog, als die Schwarzen dort die Regierung übernahmen. Er verließ das Land, nachdem er einen seiner Arbeiter zur simbabwischen Polizei gebracht hatte; damit er bestraft würde, und die Polizei den Mann vor seinen Augen Fußtritte versetzte und ihn tötete.

Centenary ist unruhig. Mehrere Nachbarn der de la Fargues wurden ermordet. John Elliot, der oberhalb des Tales eine Farm verwaltet, hat selbst unschuldige Afrikaner getötet, da er glaubte, sie seien Guerillas. « Danach konnte ich nicht schlafen », sagte er.

In Centenary gibt es viele Weiße, die schwer arbeiten. Die de la Fargues lebten sieben Jahre lang mit Öllampen und bauten ihre runden, mit Stroh bedeckten Häuser für nur 360 Mark.

sie benutzten Backsteine, die sie aus dem Ton der Ameisenhügel hergestellt hatten. Sie sind besser informiert als viele andere Farmer. Sie lesen das London Sunday Telegraph, die Londoner Wochenzeitung Economist und das Christian Science Monitor, und außerdem hören sie die BBC.

In Centenary herrscht auch viel Rassismus. « Das Los der farbigen Kinder [der Mischlinge] ist tragisch », sagte ein Weißer.

Doch es besteht das Bestreben zu verstehen. « Ich weiß, daß dies die Bauern sind », sagte Tish de la Fargue in bezug auf ihre Landarbeiter. « Ich weiß, daß es [unter den Afrikanern] Intellektuelle gibt. »

In Rhodesien besteht nun die Frage, wie der Rassismus in seinen vielen wie auch feindseligen Formen — beseitigt werden kann, ohne all die Weißen zu vertreiben. Die Farmer hier beteuern, daß es ihnen gleich sei, welche Farbe die Regierung habe, so lange sie verantwortungsvoll handelt. Die Schwierigkeit jedoch mag in der Definition von „verantwortungsvoll“ liegen.

« Ich würde gern meinen Kopf sechs Jahre lang in den Sand stecken und dann herauskommen und sehen, was geschehen ist », sagte Tish de la Fargue. « Ich glaube nicht, daß wir hier sein werden. »

Inzwischen verhält sie sich so, als ob sie bleiben würde. Als die Sekretärin des lokalen Gartenklubs (es gibt nur wenige gesellige Tätigkeiten in Centenary) redete Frau de la Fargue den Mitgliedern in ihrem letzten Brief sehr ins Gewissen. « Sie riet den Frauen weiterhin ihre Nußbäume zu pflanzen, als ob sie noch eine lange Zeit in Centenary wohnen würden. »

Andernfalls, so meinte sie, hört man auf, ein volles und tapferes Leben zu führen.

French/German

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Traduction de l'article paru dans l'édition anglaise sur la page The Home Forum

Dieu vous aime

L'enseignement qui veut que Dieu soit un être à l'image humaine dans un royaume distant, prenant note de nos erreurs afin de nous punir, nous empêche de connaître Dieu et même de désirer Le connaître. Cela augmente nos craintes, car nous n'avons aucun havre où nous puissions nous réfugier et obtenir aide et réconfort.

La Science Chrétienne amène Dieu aussi près de nous que l'est notre compréhension de Dieu. Elle enseigne, comme le fit le Maître, Christ Jésus, que Dieu est Amour, le divin Père-Mère, prenant tendrement soin de Ses enfants, ne négligeant personne. Mary Baker Eddy, Découvreuse et Fondatrice de la Science Chrétienne, écrit : « L'Amour, le Principe divin, est le Père et la Mère de l'univers, y compris l'homme. »

C'est merveilleux de savoir que Dieu est tel-même. Une expérience précieuse m'aide à ressentir cette présence et cette sollicitude. Le travail dans lequel j'étais engagée prit fin et je vivais dans une ville où j'habitais depuis quelques années seulement. Je priai pour être guidée, comme je l'avais apprise en Science Chrétienne, mais malgré cela je ne trouvais aucun sens de direction dans mes recherches pour obtenir une situation. J'avais de la crainte et j'étais sous pression; je demandai de l'aide à une praticienne de la Science Chrétienne. Dès que j'entraî dans son bureau je fondis en larmes déclarant que j'avais travaillé si dur mais ne semblais obtenir aucune solution. Elle sourit et me dit de façon rassurante : « Ne travaillez pas si fort. Sachez simplement que Dieu vous aime. » Bien entendu ce n'était pas tout ce qu'elle me dit au cours de notre conversation, mais c'est cela dont je me souviens le mieux. Je quittai son bureau et marchai pendant deux heures, déclarant

maintes et maintes fois : « Dieu m'aime. »

Au début il me semblait que je ne faisais que répéter des mots, mais après un certain temps je commençai à me détendre. Je n'avais plus de crainte. J'avais la paix nécessaire qui me permettait d'élever mon avenir avec plus d'objectivité et de confiance. Je décidai bientôt de retourner habiter la ville où j'avais vécu pendant tant d'années et en peu de temps un nouveau champ d'activité, plein de promesses s'ouvrit à moi et je conservai cette situation pendant presque vingt ans.

Dieu nous aime, en effet. Sa sollicitude entoure tous Ses enfants. Mais nous devons le savoir. Dieu est le véritable et seul Entendeur de l'homme, le nourrissant constamment et à jamais d'idées justes.

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Übersetzung des auf der Home-Forum-Seite in englisch erscheinenden religiösen Artikels
(Eine deutsche Übersetzung erscheint wöchentlich)

Gott liebt Sie

Die Lehre, daß Gott ein menschenähnliches Wesen in einem weit entfernten Reich sei und von unseren Fehlern Kenntnis nehme, um uns bestrafen zu können, hindert uns daran, Gott zu verstehen oder auch nur den Wunsch zu haben, Ihn zu verstehen. Dies vermehrt unsere Befürchtungen, denn wir haben keine Stütze, wo wir Zuflucht nehmen können, wenn wir Hilfe und Trost benötigen.

Die Christliche Wissenschaft bringt uns Gott nahe, indem sie uns ein Verständnis von Ihm vermittelt. Sie lehrt uns wie unser Meister, Christus Jesus, daß Gott Liebe ist, unser Vater-Mutter Gott, der zärtlich für Seine Kinder sorgt und niemanden vergißt. Mary Baker Eddy, die

Entdeckerin und Gründerin der Christlichen Wissenschaft, schreibt: „Liebe, das göttliche Prinzip, ist Vater und Mutter des Weltalls, einschließlich des Menschen.“

Es ist wunderbar zu wissen, daß Gott nahe ist. Eine für mich sehr wertvolle Erfahrung half mir, diese Gegenwart und Fürsorge zu spüren. Eine Position, die ich innegehabt hatte, war aufgelöst worden. Ich befand mich in einer Stadt, in der ich nur ein paar Jahre gelebt hatte. Obwohl ich um Führung betete, wie ich es in der Christlichen Wissenschaft gelernt hatte, schien ich bei der Stellungssuche nicht voranzukommen. Ich war verkrampt und voller Furcht und bat eine Ausbilderin der Christlichen Wissenschaft um Hilfe. Sobald

rifle, comme lui-même est pur. »

Cela inclut tout le monde. L'Amour est le seul pouvoir. L'Amour, éternel, est notre foyer, notre héritage, maintenant et à jamais. Oui, Dieu vous aime. Il nous aime tous.

Science et Santé avec le Clief des Ecritures, p. 258; 1 Jean 3:2, 3

Christian Science prononcez christien science
La traduction française du livre d'étude de la Science Chrétienne, « Science et Santé avec le Clief des Ecritures » de Mary Baker Eddy, seule avec le titre anglais en regard. On peut l'acheter dans les Salles de Lecture de la Science Chrétienne, ou le commander à Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115

Pour tous renseignements sur les autres publications de la Science Chrétienne en français, écrire à The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115

Ich ihr Büro betrat, brach ich in Tränen aus und erklärte, daß ich so schwer gearbeitet hätte, aber keinen Erfolg zu haben schmeine. Sie lächelte beruhigend und sagte: „Arbeiten Sie nicht so schwer. Halten Sie einfach daran fest, daß Gott Sie liebt.“ Natürlich war das nicht das einzige, was sie in unserer Unterredung sagte, aber daran erinnerte ich mich ganz besonders. Ich verließ ihr Büro und ging zwei Stunden lang spazieren und erklärte immer wieder: „Gott liebt mich.“

Zuerst schien es, als ob ich nur Worte wiederholte, aber nach einer Weile wich die Verkramptung. Ich hatte keine Angst mehr. Ich empfand den Frieden, den ich brauchte, um meine Zukunft objektiv und zureichend zu beurteilen. Bald darauf entschloß ich mich, in die Stadt zurückzukehren, wo ich viele Jahre gelebt hatte, und in kurzer Zeit eröffnete sich mir eine interessante neue Tätigkeit, eine Position, die ich nahezu zwanzig Jahre innehaben sollte.

Gott liebt uns tatsächlich. Er sorgt für alle Seine Kinder. Wir müssen uns dies jedoch vergegenwärtigen: Gott ist das wahre und einzige Gemüt des Menschen, das ihm beständig und ewig richtige Ideen zukommen läßt. Nur wenn wir der Furcht oder dem menschlichen Willen erlauben, uns davon abzuhalten, auf diese Ideen zu lauschen, scheitern wir Mangel zu leiden. Die göttliche Liebe führt uns, wenn wir bereit sind zu lauschen. Gottes Liebe ist unendlich, und als Widerspiegelung der Liebe müssen wir lernen, so zu lieben, wie Gott liebt. Das heißt, wir müssen das wahre, geistige Selbst des Menschen und jeden unserer Mitmenschen als den Ausdruck Gottes sehen.

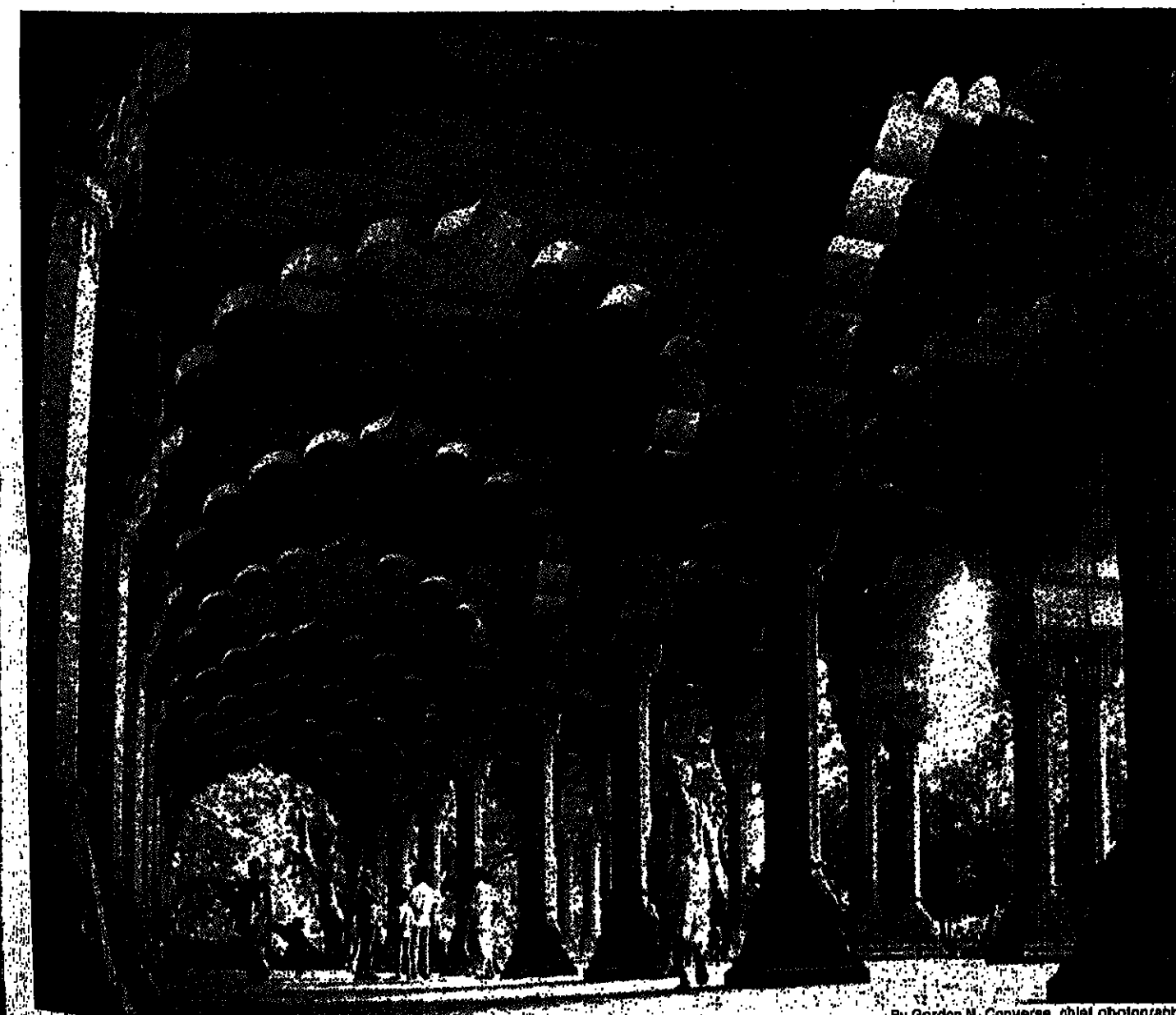
„Meine Lieben, wir sind nun Gottes Kinder“, sagte der Apostel Johannes, „und es ist noch nicht erschienen, was wir sein werden.“ Wir wissen aber, wenn es erscheinen wird, daß wir ihm gleich sein werden; denn wir werden ihn sehen, wie er ist. Und ein jeglicher der solche Hoffnung hat zu ihm, der reinigt sich, gleichwie er auch rein ist.“

Das schließt jeden ein. Die göttliche Liebe ist die einzige Macht. Die Liebe, die nie aufhört, ist unser Heim, unser Erbe, jetzt und immerdar. Ja, Gott liebt Sie. Er liebt uns alle.

Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift, S. 258; 1. Johannes 3:2, 3

Christliche Science spricht christien science
Die deutsche Übersetzung des Lehrbuchs der Christlichen Wissenschaft, „Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift“ von Mary Baker Eddy, ist mit dem englischen Text auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite erhältlich. Das Buch kann in den Lesesalons der Christlichen Wissenschaft gekauft werden oder von Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115

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Red Fort, Old Delhi, India

OPINION AND...

Westminster through the Looking-Glass

By Francis Renny

London
Things are often the opposite of what they seem in British politics. Mrs. Margaret Thatcher's Tories do not really want to overthrow the Labour government. And the Labour government does not really want to reform the House of Lords.

These hidden truths have become evident in private conversations among the strategists of both parties.

There have been angry denunciations of the peers by Labourites for "wrecking" such bills as the Dock Work Regulation Bill (subsequently wrecked still further by Labour's own Commons multineers), the Aircraft and Shipbuilding Nationalisation Bill, and the Tied Cottages Bill. Their lordships have been castigated as feudal, unelected, irresponsible, unrepresentative, reactionary, and undemocratic.

To listen to some Socialist MPs, one might have thought the peers all arrived from their castles wearing top hats and ermine, driving Rolls-Royces, to lunch on champagne and ripe pheasant. The facts are that most of the peers voting on any given issue come from business or professional backgrounds, and that an increasing proportion are life peers with not a drop of blue blood or an acre of landed property in their background.

There has been no real reform of the Upper House since 1911. Their delaying powers have been reduced and the life peerage invented, but it was the Labour Party itself which stopped the 1968 effort at reform. Labour's reluctance to do anything is partly due to the

preference of the left wing for complete abolition (which would have many disadvantages for any government), partly to a still more cogent argument.

If the Upper House were to be chosen on some sort of representational lines - representing regions or counties or organized interests like trade unions, business and professional bodies, churches - then it would have to be given certain real powers. There would be no point in regions or bodies putting up candidates to represent them, if those representatives could have no influence at all on legislation.

It is perfectly true that the present Upper House does not make such difficulties for a Conservative government as it makes for Labour. Peers like to insist that they would block a Tory government if it actually went mad. They have a somewhat better case than usual for their present behavior when they point out that Labour is ramming through highly controversial legislation on the basis of a minority vote in the country and a bare majority in the Commons.

Even so, the Lords know that all they can ultimately do is delay. They have no real right, as unelected legislators, to expect more. In fact, governments are often grateful for the chance, in the Lords, to straighten out defects that managed to survive the uproot of the Commons.

If delay and minor repairs are the real function of the Lords, the hereditary-plus-life-peer-

age system supplies the need admirably. It is cheap, it provides honor and reward, it spares the British still more voting, and peers make little protest if their work is set at naught. And beyond this, Conservatives, Liberals and moderate Labourites alike dread the thought of a single chamber parliament in the hands of a runaway Marxist majority, as slender perhaps as today's.

All this is why, despite the threats and postures, Prime Minister James Callaghan is highly unlikely to do anything about the peers. He knows it would not make the election issue in his favor that the extreme left likes to imagine. The Lords could turn out to be the people's darlings.

Not that Mrs. Thatcher wants to hurry an election along. The British winter has got into its damp, chilly stride. Campaigning before spring would not be popular. Furthermore, Mrs. T. wants Labour to suffer a lot more. She doesn't see why the socialists shouldn't have to carry in full the odium of the economic woes that their own policies have brought about. She hopes this will have the effect both of splitting the Labour party (by driving out the Marxist maniacs), and of breaking the hearts of the trade unions - which will then be prepared to cooperate with a Tory government. Mrs. Thatcher, if not sterling, can afford to wait.

In any case, the heady days of one or two vote majorities and dead heats may not last much longer. It is not a game which both sides can play for long. The Commons are going to

have to simmer down, in any case, for the mighty Devolution Bill. This may put the strains and stresses on the loyalties of Labourites and Conservatives.

But defectors on one side are likely to be cancelled out by defectors on the other, and there is one thing the government should be sure of: it is the support of the Scottish and Welsh nationalists. But here is a totally a different issue whose outcome is hard to predict.

Perhaps the oddest performance at Westminster in recent days has been that of Enoch Powell, supposedly an Ulster Unionist (and therefore Conservative ally), who handed out an unmade speech to the press saying he thought the interests of the United Kingdom would be best served if Labour stayed a power "for some time yet."

What Mr. Powell seemed to be saying was that, in a vote of confidence such as might precipitate a General Election, he would vote for the government.

Mr. Powell's reasons appeared to be largely aimed at punishing the Conservative Party for failing to promote him as he thinks he deserves. Specifically, he says he does not think the Tories can cope with the present crisis and in spite of having endorsed the Treaty of Rome, Labour (he thinks) is still anti-Common Market at heart. As always with Mr. Powell, it was beautifully written. But once again, he was more beneath the surface than met the eye.

No free lunch in Britain

By John Allan May

London
The world has learned much from Britain over the years - Magna Carta, political liberty, parliamentary democracy, independence of the judiciary and so forth. Today from British experience it can learn that no radical society can expect to function properly unless it obeys the fundamental laws of what might be called Economic Philosophy.

Great Britain's has been a government of good intentions. But it has brought itself and the country to a state of almost complete insolvency by ignoring these laws.

The First Law of EP, I would suggest, is this: "There's no such thing as a free lunch." British Labour's economists have worked out their plans on quite a different basis - that every lunch can be free if the state pays for it.

According to the Second Law of EP this belief is unsound. For the state has no money but what it can take or attract from the citizen or can borrow abroad. Nor does it have an open licence to print money of its own, for the cost

of such a licence is universally established. It is inflation.

Therefore according to the Second Law of EP, "In the last analysis the state never pays." Every lunch has to be paid for by somebody. By you, me or the person next door. If there's nobody to pay we have to wash the dishes.

It is not only Great Britain that is finding this out. There's Italy, Chile, Brazil, and even Sweden to name but a few others.

However, the British case is the one most starkly in the news these days. So perhaps we should stick to it as our example.

Besides ignoring the basic laws of EP, socialists in Britain's Labour movement have ignored a central theme in the philosophy of Karl Marx (whom otherwise they venerate). That theme is: "Only work produces wealth."

The assertion is not altogether true. But how much better things would be now in Britain if the Labour movement had believed in it! Instead the cry has grown "Only government spending produces wealth."

The belief in spending does not encompass private spending, which is held by Labour to be bad. Hence the very high rate of personal taxation in Britain. For some reason - or no reason - the benefits of spending are held to accrue only to governments.

But as we've seen, in the last analysis governments never actually pay for anything. So that government spending is only private spending redirected into channels the private citizen would not choose. There may be nothing intrinsically wrong in that. But it happens that the spending is often redirected into channels that do not in fact produce marketable wealth. The people who keep those channels open are well paid, naturally enough. But since they are not producing goods or services that can be bought and sold it is very easy for the national income to get out of balance. Beyond a certain point too much income may then be chasing too few goods.

This certainly has happened in Britain. And from this experience we might formulate the Third Law of EP in this way: "The way cooks can price broth out of the market." Another distortion that has occurred has been the misuse of the economist Keynes' famous "multiplier." This originally referred to the snowball effect of the injection of spending power into an economy in times of slump. In Britain it has been redefined in this way: "Every pound has smaller pounds going back to bite 'im; and smaller pounds have bigger pounds and so on ad infinitum." Hence the smallest pound starting anyone has ever seen. The lesson radicals everywhere should draw, I believe, is well stated in the Fourth Law of EP, which is that the only way to give value to money is to give value for money.

If that seems too philosophical altogether perhaps it could be put another way: Nobody can get twice as much into or out of a pint pot by altering the label to read the Quart.

Mr. May is a long-time observer of British affairs.

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Mr. May is a long-time observer of British affairs.

What makes Yugoslavia a special case?

By Walter C. Clemens Jr.

At bottom, President Ford and Jimmy Carter concur that the United States has to put up with Soviet domination of Eastern Europe but that Washington should try to undermine Moscow's hegemony by indirect, gradualist methods. U.S. military intervention, Republicans and Democrats agree, is not in the cards. But Yugoslavia is a special case. From 1945 to 1948, the country was under German occupation so that the country has never been occupied by the Red Army.

After years of blind fealty to Moscow, Yugoslavia's Communists broke from Soviet dictation in 1948 and established the model for an independent road to socialism now emulated by some other East and West European communist parties. After initial disbelief that Tito's split was genuine, Washington backed it with military and economic assistance that has continued now for almost thirty years.

Though the Truman Doctrine introduced a U.S. presence in turbulent Greece and Turkey in 1947, history showed that Washington would not intervene militarily when Moscow exerted military force to maintain its hold on Eastern Europe. The United States would offer "big game" for "big game," but not "big game" to East Germany, Hungary, Soviet tanks in 1953, John Foster Dulles and Radio Free Europe offered moral encouragement but no material

assistance to Hungarian freedom fighters in 1956.

Chastened by charges that the U.S. had misled the Hungarians, Dean Rusk made it clear in 1968 that Washington would not fight if Moscow decided to repress Czechoslovakia's attempt to build socialism with a different face. Czechoslovakia's "Prague Spring" was crushed by the Warsaw Pact organization, however. Western spokesmen hinted that NATO's shield might extend to gray areas such as Austria and Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslavs, for their part, decided not to count on Western assistance against Soviet intervention. Unlike Czechoslovakia, which surrendered without armed resistance in 1968 as well as 1969, the Yugoslavs recalled that they had mounted the fiercest and most successful resistance against Hitler in all of Europe. They modified their constitution in 1968 to make it unlawful for any Yugoslav to sign a surrender document.

Backing this moral act with military might, they embarked on the creation of a nationwide militia similar in spirit to the Minutemen who once guarded Middlesex County against Redcoats; the Yugoslav force is even more like the militia which Switzerland has perfected since the Middle Ages. Like Switzerland, Yugoslavia

counts on mountainous terrain to complicate life for any foreign invader.

Romania has also sought to develop its capacity to resist external aggression since 1948. But the Yugoslav effort is much greater. Both countries have populations of 21.4 million, but Yugoslavia has a regular "force" numbering 250,000 against Romania's 171,000. Both have half a million reservists (almost as many as the United States), but Yugoslavia has a million in its territorial militia compared to half that number in Romania's paramilitary units. Yugoslavia's defense budget is almost three times Romania's, despite a smaller GNP.

Might Yugoslavia fall apart from internal divisions? Experts believe that the central government can count on the regular army and the militia to contain any separatist movement, even after Tito. Though separatist tendencies are strong among intellectuals and other social groups in Croatia, they seem to have little mass support. Unlike Slovakia, which served as a springboard for Nazi and Soviet actions against Czechoslovakia in 1938 and 1968, Croatia occupies an advantageous position in the Yugoslav federation. With Slovenia, Croatia has the highest per capita income within Yugoslavia. And Croatia holds a plurality of top posts in the government and the army.

All these factors support Mr. Carter's conclusion: there is little prospect of overt Soviet intervention against Yugoslavia. The possible gains from a Soviet takeover are far outweighed by the risks. Not only would Moscow face a protracted guerrilla war in Yugoslavia, but the chance of resistance in Romania and in border republics such as Moldavia and Ukraine, Soviet interference would scuttle the tentative and cool ties with Turkey, now the anti-Soviet recipient of Soviet economic aid. Soviet troops have never been able to conduct maneuvers in Yugoslavia, as they did in Czechoslovakia, and they could not justify intervention by invoking the Warsaw Pact, since Yugoslavia is not a member.

The best hope for democracy and prosperity in Eastern Europe lies in the slow accretion of cultural and economic ties with the West. Devotee and greater trade need time to work changes in the political sphere.

Meanwhile, Yugoslavia provides a dramatic example of the benefits of self-reliance in world affairs, buttressed by marginal assistance without strings from the West.

Dr. Clemens is a fellow at the Kennan Institute of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington.

COMMENTARY

Japan's break with tradition

By Russell Brines

Japan has been propelled by the Lockheed bribery scandal into a new historical period, as well as into a major political crisis. The outcome of the Dec. 5 elections could well determine whether Japan moves forward with a reinvigoration of its institutions or slips back into old ways.

For the first time, the government itself has taken the initiative to investigate and to apprehend high officials for alleged corruption. It has arrested a former prime minister - another first - and two other high-ranking leaders of the long-dominant Liberal Democratic Party, along with a number of lesser figures. The party, then, is admitting that its own leaders could be guilty of wrongdoing - also a first.

Prime Minister Takeo Miki has pursued the investigation vigorously, despite strong intra-party pressures to let it follow the usual course and die. He may yet be deposed by party rivals for this reason, if he is not eased out of office through a power play. But already he has set a precedent of major political significance, in the context of Japanese history and tradition.

Like all Asian nations and most other non-European countries, Japan evolved a modern political system with built-in bureaucratic bribery. This was tolerated because government salaries were too low for survival. The system continues to flourish, particularly in countries where officials have the least regard for their powerless citizens.

From this base, Japan developed a separate code of bribery. The alliance between the bureaucracy and criminal gangsters was so strong during the prewar years, for example, that a telephone could be obtained in Tokyo only by paying an outrageous price to a criminal gang. The gangsters bought up all the numbers after the earthquake in 1923 knocked out the city's system, and their political influence was strong enough to prevent any enlargement of the reestablished telephone exchange for the next twenty-three years, even though Tokyo's population tripled.

The corruption of military rule and two decades of warfare produced a working alliance between profit-seeking jingoes and the military, each fattening on the other. When a civilian government under light military control decided to initiate food rationing within Japan in

1939 - largely as a psychological control measure - the ration deliberately was set so low that a black market became essential. The militarists' friends, who had helped bring them to power, profited from the black market. And just before American troops entered Japan in 1945, the military gave its civilian supporters a final bonus by handing them several billion dollars' worth of tin, rubber, and other raw materials plundered from the wartime Japanese empire for war purposes and never utilized.

In comparison with the record, Lockheed was playing a penny ante game by offering a few million dollars for business favors. This is the only way business is conducted almost everywhere in the non-European world, as American industrialists insist.

But Japan has changed. Its people no longer are powerless and its press no longer is dominated by the government. The American occupation encouraged and released forces which gradually have built up an irresistible demand for a governmental accountability which was unheard of before, even during the brief period when Japan was ruled by a parliamentary democracy under the Emperor.

A vigorous press and strong public pressures have created a number of political crises over governmental bribery during the postwar period. In each case, the pressures were strong enough to give a faction of the Liberal Democratic Party the power to force a prime minister to resign and yield rule to the successful faction. These were merely political quarrels. The scandals died with the change in the prime ministry, for neither the government nor the party took the initiative to investigate further or to punish malefactors.

Sooner or later, the governmental system itself had to take the next step - into direct governmental accountability. This is what Prime Minister Miki has done.

The essence of a democratic government is its willingness and capacity to punish the law-breaking in its ranks; lawbreaking which may be inescapable as long as officials are as human as everyone else. In that sense, America's Watergate was a triumph, not a tragedy. In that sense, too, the Lockheed scandal has become Japan's Watergate.

Mr. Brines is a free-lance writer on foreign affairs.

To Peking: from Russia with love

By Konrad Smirnov

The following is written by a political correspondent of the Soviet news agency Novosti and was supplied by that agency.

Ten years ago, in the temple of the Blue Clouds at P'ei Yun Sze, not far from Peking, I saw inscribed in white marble the text of the last message to the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. by Sun Yat-sen, an outstanding democratic revolutionary and first president of the Chinese Republic, in which he requested that the Chinese people preserve and safeguard their friendship with the fraternal Soviet people.

Now, when the 110th anniversary of Sun Yat-sen's birth is celebrated, the U.S.S.R. and the People's Republic of China should heed his wishes, especially since it now seems most unnatural that the friendly relations between the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and China have been disrupted for so long. There is no doubt that reestablishment of a good-neighbor policy will further the expansion and development of mutual ties and the observance by both sides of full equality.

In his testament Dr. Sun Yat-sen spoke of a new and powerful China that would play a positive role in international affairs. In 1949, with the establishment of the People's Republic of China, opportunities appeared for China to move rapidly forward to this goal, relying on its own resources and on the help of the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries.

The events of the past decade held back that process, and it was not until January, 1976, that Chou En-lai stressed, at the first session of the Fourth National People's Congress, the task of transforming China into an economically developed socialist country. His speech contained the thesis that the Chinese side was for a normalization of inter-state relations between the U.S.S.R. and the People's Republic of China and for expansion of China's foreign economic ties.

Lately the Chinese press has renewed the subject of economic ties with the outside world. Peking is beginning to modify its approach to questions of international economic ties, responding to existing economic relations in the world. However, it should be recalled that the economic development of China, which 27 years ago adopted the socialist road, was boosted thanks to extensive cooperation

with the U.S.S.R. and was organized along planned lines in accordance with the mutual interests of the two states.

If China really starts expanding its economic contacts with foreign countries, including the socialist countries, then this economic cooperation will prove to be a success. Political improvements would doubtless facilitate the development of mutually beneficial ties between China and the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union is ready at any moment to start constructive negotiations with Peking, believing that any problem can be solved provided there is goodwill and a desire to normalize relations between the two countries. Addressing the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party last October, Leonid Brezhnev said: "The desire to improve relations with China is our consistent policy. The party's 25th Congress emphasized that in our relations with China, as with other countries, we adhere firmly to the principles of equality, respect of sovereignty and territorial integrity, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, and nonaggression. In short, we are prepared to normalize relations with China in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence."

Considerable interest was aroused by a message of greetings from the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the State Council of the People's Republic of China on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. The message said that the Chinese side would continue in its belief that differences on matters of principle between China and the Soviet Union should not interfere with normal state relations between the two countries, and would support and develop interstate relations on the basis of these principles - mutual respect, sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual nonaggression, noninterference in internal affairs, equality, mutual advantage, and peaceful coexistence. The message further stated that this would be in the interest of both nations.

The world's public has every reason to believe that the readiness of the Soviet Union to normalize relations is also shared by China and hopes that the restoration of Soviet-Chinese relations will allow the Soviet and Chinese peoples to live as good friends and to cooperate for the benefit of peace and progress throughout the world.

Readers write

Watching Britain, Ulster, and progress in India

How very much I appreciated T. B. Millar's article in the Nov. 15 Monitor on the subject of England's woes. He is generous in his praise of our welfare state which cares for the weakest members in our society, and also for the normally capable who may be temporarily at a loss for some reason. I think we are all proud of our massive, if unwieldy, umbrella.

But, of course, creating the wealth to support the system is also a challenge. And the British really are beginning to realize this and have found spokesmen - Prince Philip among them.

Labour's M.P.'s, Labour voters, and many non-attached individuals are very aware of the "wages" and I think your correspondents in Britain will soon be reporting a revival of initiative, enterprise, and inventiveness throughout our lovely land. Watch for it. Yours, Somerset Mary Harding

Unser jobs

It seemed to me that Michael McLoughlin's article criticizing Jonathan Harsch's article on Northern Ireland firms was not fair to Mr. Harsch. Neither Mr. Harsch nor anyone else will deny that there has been gross job displacement in Ulster and most notably in the Belfast and Wolf Shipyard. In fact I recall an article by Mr. Harsch during the United Ulster Unions' strike in which he mentioned about 300 (invisible) Catholics being forced to march with their fellow unionists in an anti-

government protest parade. This would indicate about 4 percent in a state with over 30 percent Catholic population.

As a regular reader of the Monitor, I feel that Mr. Harsch has always been fair to all concerned and fully sympathetic with the injustices suffered by the native Irish in the North. Furthermore, I have never found the Monitor to exhibit a double standard in this matter. No other paper in this area has as good coverage of Ireland, be it the 26 counties of the Republic or the 6 counties of Northern Ireland. Infinitely I have found the Monitor to be fair and understanding.

I believe the thrust of Jonathan Harsch's article was to appraise the survival of industry in an Ulster torn with civil strife, while not in any way supporting or encouraging hiring prejudice. He has strongly supported civil rights in the North and, I am sure, will continue to condemn the job discrimination complained of by Mr. McLoughlin and so vividly described in Leon Uris' "Trinity." Winchester, Mass. Thomas M. Downes

Stay away from extremism

Regarding "Ulster: more violent teenagers," by Jonathan Harsch, I agree wholeheartedly with his conclusion concerning teenage violence: "The clear lesson for young people is to stay away from extremist organizations on both sides of the religious divide in Northern Ireland. . . ." This bit of advice is

trus, not only in Northern Ireland, but for teenagers in any part of the world.

As an inmate of a penal institution, I can say from experience that any extremist philosophy, whether of violence, greed, or hedonism, is a dead-end road. My own career in extremism (alcohol/drugs) began when I was an impressionable teenager.

Young people do not fully realize what the results of extremist actions are - a life of captivity in prison, despair, or even their own demise. They are more often intrigued by the excitement, mystery, and false glamour sometimes built up around the "bad guys." It is not like that in reality.

There is certainly no glamour in extremist behavior. Any young person who thinks there is should be allowed to take a tour of San Quentin, Attica, Stateville, or any of the other "bastille" type of state penitentiary. There he could see the grimness and the undercurrents of fear and hatred in which one must "watch his back" twenty-four hours a day to ensure his own survival. San Luis Obispo, Calif. Name withheld by request

Progress in India

The Indian Government has come under criticism in your columns recently. The new moves of the government are criticized in the press in the whole of the Western hemisphere. (Mrs. Gandhi has been denounced as a leader trying to be a dictator. . . .) When the present emergency was declared

in India, it troubled me a lot, being an Indian. Why she took this action was a big question. On my last visit back home I found out that the changes that are taking place are for the better: i.e. through the emergency the unity of the nation is preserved.

Diplomatic relations with China have been restored. Today, India's neighbors are friendly; there are no hostilities, no border skirmishes going on. Government services have improved to a greater degree. Educational facilities are better than before. No students' disturbances on the campuses. Duty comes before the right. That's what the change required. We always wanted a strong leader in India, and we have one now.

It may seem absurd to Western people, but to me Mrs. Gandhi is the Lincoln of India. Acting under the emergency powers, President Lincoln had ordered arrests of thousands of people. The press was suppressed - some papers were stopped from being published. The Supreme Court supported or interpreted his actions as legal. He did what he thought necessary. People then had the same questions as we have against Mrs. Gandhi: i.e. was all criticism of government forbidden? Had people lost cherished rights of speech? Elsinh, Ill. Hariadepal Singh

We invite readers' letters for this column. Of course we cannot answer every one, and some are condensed before publication, but thoughtful comments are welcome.